



Barlowe's



Dialogue.



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BISHOP BARLOWE'S DIALOGUE

On the Lutheran Factions



FIRST PUBLISHED IN
1531 AND AGAIN IN 1553

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BEARING ON THE
QUESTION OF
ANGLICAN ORDERS
AND NOTES

By JOHN ROBERT LUNN B.D.

VICAR OF MARTON-CUM-GRAFTON AND

LATE FELLOW OF S. JOHN'S

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Introduction to Barlowe's Dialogue

THE treatise which is here reprinted, seems to be one of the most important contributions to the literature of the Reformation period, since it fixes the theological and ecclesiastical position of its author. William Barlowe is in one respect the most important ecclesiastic of the 16th century, inasmuch as he is the principal link (some say the only one) connecting the hierarchy of the Reformed English Church with that of its mediæval precursor. Accordingly in all the attacks that have been made, he is singled out for the chief: his episcopal Orders have been denied, or his capacity for transmitting them, or both. No records exist of his consecration to the episcopate, and on this absence the denial of his Orders has been made to rest; but it is admitted that in and of itself the objection is an insufficient one. He is taken for a thoroughgoing Protestant, and as holding lax or Presbyterian views respecting Orders; and in connection with this it is maintained that the lack of

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the records acquires a significance that cannot properly be overlooked.

It is a natural question to ask, Can Barlowe's opinions be ascertained? Has he written any works? And it does seem strange that the present treatise should have fallen almost into oblivion. It finds no mention in the list of his works in the *Biographia Britannica*; its existence became known to me from a footnote in Courayer's Dissertation on English Orders, referring to a place in a letter from Abp. Wake;¹ the description given by the Archbishop appears to me to be somewhat vague and inaccurate, and perhaps obtained from second-hand information.

It seems advisable to state succinctly the usual ideas about Barlowe. He is described as a pronounced Protestant; and therefore in the classifications of the Bishops, made by the historians into the two parties headed by the Abps. Cranmer and Lee, he, together with Latimer and Shaxton, is put into the former; and these three men are considered Cranmer's principal supporters; but as disappointing him; in Barlowe's case by "indiscretion," but how is not stated. On the accession of Queen Mary, Barlowe consulted his own safety, and for that purpose raked up a treatise against Lutheranism that he had printed years before (the present "Dialoge" in fact), and so became a sort

¹ p. 357, Oxford Reprint, 1844.

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of renegade, thus showing himself in far inferior colours to Cranmer. He was accordingly considered as under a sort of cloud, but it being necessary to make use of him in 1559, he had to be contented with a "much meaner bishopric," that of Chichester. The historians often leave out the fact that he was also at the same time appointed to the very first stall in the newly re-constituted Chapter of Westminster, which might well compensate for the lesser income of the see.

Here it may be remarked, that as Barlowe had resigned Bath and Wells, his successor, Bourne, was canonical holder of that see; and it was not at all certain that he would refuse the oath of supremacy; Chichester and Hereford being vacant by the deaths of Christopherson and Wharton, the appointments of Barlowe and Scory to them were quite in accordance with canon law.

The only reason that I can think of why the "Dialoge" should have been so neglected, is the glamour of Cranmer's name, and the natural consequent neglect of Barlowe, as a renegade of whom the less said the better. Indeed the genuineness of the work has been disputed, and probably that accounts for its non-appearance in the article of the *Biographia Britannica*; but Geo. Barlowe, the Bishop's grand-nephew, writing about 1636, speaks of it as being in his possession, and as being the production of his great uncle, and as being the

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means of obtaining his preferment ; so that there can be no question of its genuineness.

Historians have taken for granted that a change of opinions from conviction must necessarily be from Catholicism to Protestantism ; a change in the other direction they cannot imagine as arising from any other motive than care for one's safety, desire to avoid persecution or preserve one's life, or perhaps the more ignoble motives of profit or self-aggrandisement.

Barlowe affords an example to the contrary, and therefore the received views about him are utterly wrong. He left Lutheranism for Catholicism from conviction and principle, and for no other cause. He had embraced Lutheranism, and to some extent had propagated it (and, indeed, in so doing he may never have consciously or in intention ceased to be Catholic)¹ : out of mere admiration for the system he went to Germany to see for himself how well it worked : he found it utterly different from what it had been represented : he heard the preaching of Luther and other leaders, and became disgusted with the whole system, on the grounds of its condoning vice and deteriorating morality, of the profanation and hypocrisy it introduced, of its unscrupulousness and dishonesty in treating Scripture and the Fathers, of its low views about the

¹ "And why may not a Protestant be a Catholic?" (Paget's *Tales of the Village*, I. c. 4.

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Sacraments, of its contempt for Catholic customs and the decrees of the General Councils, of its abolition (to a great extent) of the fear of God and charity between man and man.

And whereas it is generally alleged that acquaintance with Scripture inevitably leads to acceptance of Protestantism, and that others remain as they are through ignorance, more or less; Barlowe appears to have been thoroughly well acquainted with the Word of God, and perfectly at home in handling it. It may be observed that he was a D.D., it is thought of some foreign University, though he was connected with both Oxford and Cambridge.

The result of his visit to Germany was, that on his return to England, he wrote this "Dialogue"; and a very convenient handbook it must have been. It is evident that the interlocutor "William" means himself.

The work was first published in 1531, and bears the date of July 28 in that year: there is a copy in the Bodleian Library, which is perhaps unique.

It is worth notice, that he tells us that malicious persons had slanderously accused him of changing his views to Catholicism as a bid for preferment. This bit of gossip proves two things: (1), that his abandonment of Lutheranism was known, and (2), that the chance of preferment for a man holding Lutheran views was at that time very small.

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I do not think that his advancement can be attributed to Ann Boleyn: it is much more likely that she took by the hand a man already in favour with the king; moreover, at the time of his elevation to the episcopate she had lost her influence.

An important fact in connection with the "Dialogue" is, that Bp. Stokesley ordered the clergy of his diocese (London) to procure it, which proves (1), that it was considered an efficacious antidote to Lutheranism, and (2), that Barlowe retained his views, for otherwise he would have suppressed the book. I have not ascertained the date of the Injunction, but it must have been before September, 1539, at which time Stokesley died.

It is indeed absolutely incredible that Barlowe should ever have reverted to Protestantism, as some have thought: for no reason can be adduced to outweigh that most potent one of actual and personal experience; he could always retort, "I have mixed with these men and you have not; I therefore know their system better than you do, or than you can do."

It is most important then to note that the "Dialogue" is subsequent, not anterior, to his support of Lutheranism, and therefore it represents his opinions when he became a bishop. So that the question is: Can it be believed that a man holding the opinions expressed in this book would think of

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entering the episcopate in any other manner than his predecessors had done?

It will be necessary to notice the part Barlowe took with other divines in the discussion about the Sacraments in 1540, because his opinions have been quoted as unsound. For the complete account the reader must be referred to the records in Burnet or Collier. He is accused of denying the necessity of consecration in respect of making a bishop. Unfortunately his actual answer has not been preserved, but is given by the abstractors of the account. The Latin abstractor does not mention him, and this silence proves that his answer was not of such a nature as to attract attention, and therefore is not what it has been represented. The English abstractor makes him say that Appointment only is requisite. The question before these divines was: "whether consecration was requisite, or appointment only" (and this so far as the New Testament gives evidence), *i.e.* what was the Matter and Form in Order? It is clear from the answer of Dr. Cox, as compared with that of Bp. Heath, that by consecration was usually meant anointing: all the divines, who use the term more correctly, such as Abp. Lee, Bp. Heath, Dr. Robertson, Redmayn, Tresham, Leighton and Coren, qualify the term. But they are unanimous that the "Matter" is Imposition of Hands, and the "Form" is appropriate Prayer (see the answers of

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Bps. Aldrich and Day, Drs. Oglethorpe, Edgeworth, etc.). And the supposed identity of "consecration" with "anointing" appears from a passage in the Nag's Head Fable, or from Council of Trent, sess. 23, can. 5; and other evidences have presented themselves; so that Barlowe's answer meant that Anointing is not necessary to make a man a bishop, but that Appointment with Imposition of Hands is, as specified by Abp. Lee, Bp. Aldrich, Oglethorpe, and others.

In Question 11, "Whether a Bishop has authority to make priests, etc.," Barlowe limits the Bishop's power by consent of Christian princes; but the same limitation is assigned by Heath, Robertson, Leighton and Coren.

In Question 13, apparently a case put as an extreme supposition: If a Christian prince conquered a Pagan country, and had no clergy, what should be done? Barlowe agrees in opinion with Thirlby, Leighton, Cox, Symmons, Tresham, Redmayn, Robertson and Tunstall. Boner is the only one who exhibits the common sense that the thing cannot very well happen, assuming the Prince to be Christian.

Another objection has been raised from a passing expression in a sermon, wherein Barlowe asserted that a King's nominee would be as good a Bishop as himself, without any mention of consecration. But not to mention consecration is a very different

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thing from denying it; and implicitly this asserts that Barlowe had himself been consecrated. This was really the subject of an accusation against our author brought before the President of Wales, Bp. Rowland Lee, and nothing came of it. Now (1) no adversary would so mis-state his case by understating it; and (2) that as Bp. Lee was an opponent of the Protestants, he must have noticed such an accusation, and that it came to naught proves that it was frivolous. Barlowe's words may mean no more than that a man who has the King's nomination is on an equal footing with one who has the Pope's Bull. Jewel tells us that some Canonists have said, "Papa potest solo verbo suo facere episcopum." An opinion would be spread (erroneous indeed, but that matters not), that a Pope's Bull made a man a Bishop at once; this view is somewhat confirmed by Gardiner's "De vera obedientia." The attitude of the Papal party may be fairly estimated by the facts of the subsequent generation, when for thirty years and more the Pope persistently rejected the entreaties of the clergy to give them a bishop: "The Jesuits Lainez and Salmeron taught, at Trent, that His Holiness was the only bishop *jure divino*" (Introduction to Memoirs of Panzani, by Rev. J. Berington, a Roman priest, 1793; a book from which I have learnt much, and I exercise self-denial in not quoting more from it).

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I feel convinced that Barlowe's proper place is with Abp. Lee's party, not with the other.

This "Dialogue" may fairly be assigned as one cause why Lutheranism had not made much headway, if any, in Henry VIII.'s reign; and that it had not seems clear from the fact that three leading Germans were invited in his successor's reign to promote that movement. The "Original Letters" of that period, published by the Parker Society, show that the Protestantism was more of the Swiss than of the German type, and the same appears from the Recantations in Abp. Lee's Register at York.

In this "Dialogue" occurs probably the earliest indication that a translation of the New Testament was being thought of by some in authority; and in connection with this it may be mentioned that from a letter of Grafton's (the printer) relative to a translation projected in 1538, it is evident that the only episcopal support he expected was that of Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer (*Life of Cranmer*. Religious Tract Soc., p. 25, ed. 1831). Barlowe is conspicuously absent; and this fact detaches him from Cranmer's party. He gives the reason himself in the "Dialogue": he is willing enough to co-operate if people are likely to profit by the translation; but he does not see any signs of such likelihood. However, in 1541 he revised the translation of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and

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Colossians; and later, in the Bishops' Bible, he translated Esdras, Judith, Tobit, and Wisdom.

One point had struck me as odd: Barlowe appears fairly prominent in Henry VIII.'s reign, but with the exception of answering some queries about the Mass, preparatory to the English Service Book, he seems to be rather in the background in Edward VI.'s reign, although advanced to the see of Bath and Wells. An incident in the "Dialogue" suggests, I think, a reason: Bucer had been called in to give advice, so that the Reformation was likely to go more on German lines; but Barlowe exhibits Bucer as having been detected in something like controversial literary fraud, and would therefore be rather awkward at the same council table. There are however two places in the English Prayer Book which seem traceable to the "Dialogue": the expression in the Whitsun Preface, "Whereby we have been brought from darkness and error, etc.," for which no antique origin can be assigned, so far as I know; and the expression about "wretchlessness of unclean living," in Art. 17, as one result of Predestination, which Barlowe mentions as a fact.

The second edition (which furnishes our text) was published in 1553, a few months after the accession of Queen Mary. It is a small volume, the pages $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; 88 leaves, without pagination or foliation; printed in black letter; very

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clear type, and evidently from the same types as were employed in an issue of Tyndale's New Testament, by Cawood, in the same year. In both books I noticed that no capital Y was employed; the small letter or the Roman character being used instead. The copy I have made use of is in the University Library at Cambridge. It was called for because the first edition had become out of print, which would have been greatly helped by Bp. Stokesley's Injunction, and it would have been doubtful to have the book in circulation in Edward's reign.

By the kindness of a friend, the Rev. T. W. Openshaw, Rector of Middleton Cheney, a collation of the two editions has been made; they are exactly alike, differing only in the use of contractions and the varieties of spelling, which is a very fortunate circumstance.

Of course, on the title, the phrase, "late Bishop of Bath," was added, and another Preface to the Reader. This I take to be by an editor; the style is more vehement than that of the book; "the auctor" is spoken of at some length in the third person, whereas in the "Preface of the Auctoure" he writes in the first person; and a reprehension of "married monks" occurs, on which Barlowe would, one should think, have discreetly kept silence, since he was open to the retort of being a married monk himself. The object of this reprint would be for the purpose, not of making a recantation of Protestantism

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and submission to Catholicity (as the historians represent), but of exhibiting himself as having been all along, throughout his public life, a pronounced and consistent Catholic; and a fair amount of consistency is all that can reasonably be expected of any public man of that period. Dean Turner seems to insinuate that Gardiner was the editor of the reprint. Anyhow, on January 28, 1554, Barlowe was examined before Gardiner at S. Mary Overie, and allowed to be Catholic.

A submission to the Crown's mercy is alleged as of this date; but it is clear that it was made earlier, to King Henry; for he speaks of the sovereign having learning in these matters, and as having been known to be clement to those who would submit; which conditions cannot apply to Queen Mary, if only for want of time in respect of the latter.

The temper of the book is remarkably free from fanaticism, and the style makes me think the author to be a man of high religious principle, conscientious, and of sound reason, disinclined to persecution, and more like Tunstall than others of that age. His interlocutor "Nicholas" (who favours Lutheranism) never appears as frivolous or captious; "William" admits the necessity for Reformation, but thinks that Luther went on utterly wrong principles.

There is no difficulty in ascertaining from the "Dialoge" what Barlowe's views were on the

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Eucharist, and we fortunately possess a document written in 1550 on that subject by Dr. Oglethorpe, whom Queen Mary made Bishop of Carlisle; if there is any substantial disagreement between the two divines (and I scarcely think there is), Oglethorpe leans more to the 39 Articles, and Barlowe to the Council of Trent. There seems to be no theological reason at all why he should not have retained his see under Queen Mary; his marriage alone was the professed obstacle; and that might have been removed, if he had separated from his wife. There were then seven married Bishops: Shaxton, Salisbury, Barlowe, Bird, Hodgkyn, Bush, and Scory. It is not certain, but thought, that Bush repudiated his wife; all the others did, and were rehabilitated; and (excepting Shaxton) they were monks. Barlowe alone retained his wife.

Curiously enough, he figures here as a political economist. He mentions the outcry against monks for idleness, and that they ought to be made to "work": to which he replies that that would inevitably produce a glut in the labour market, and consequently a depression in the condition of artisans. This, he says, actually took place in regions where monasteries had been suppressed; and even without suppression, in places where, owing to such clamour, the monastic bodies had begun to "work" by adopting some handicraft, the depression of artisans had caused such discon-

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tent that the monks' enterprise was prohibited by the Government.

The position then, is this: that Barlowe was a true Catholic divine, of the type of Tunstall, or Aldrich.

Therefore (1) to enter the episcopate he was consecrated in the usual way.

(2) In the English Ordinal he would consider it a sufficient and valid Rite; as Aldrich (a pronounced Catholic) did, taking part in the consecration of Harley, 1553, May 26.

(3) In using it he employed the recognised sense and Catholic Intention; for he could not think of any other sense; and therefore he conferred valid Orders on Parker.

It has been advanced that the Edwardian Ordinal, when used by such a divine as Tunstall, would be sufficient to confer valid Orders, though not when used by such as Cranmer. Barlowé's theological position therefore, seems to me to remove all ambiguity, real or imaginary.

In connection with this, it should be noticed that both Julius III. and Paul IV. issued Bulls respecting the Reconciliation, in which some regard had to be paid to the Orders that had been conferred during the schism, according to the old Pontifical, and also according to the Edwardian Ordinal. The Brief of Paul IV. (Oct. 30, 1555) appears distinctly to allow the validity of Orders conferred according to the

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Edwardian Ordinal by such Bishops as Thirlby: but to deny validity if conferred by such as Scory. This can be explained thus: Scory's Orders are considered invalid, from the Pope's point of view, not by reason of deficiency in the Rite, or in the Intention of his consecrators, but deficiency in his own Intention as recipient. Any other explanation would in consistency cassate the acts of Thirlby, Heath, and other such; which is absurd.

Now Barlowe has been found to be of the same type as Thirlby; therefore if Thirlby conferred valid Orders according to the Edwardian Form, so likewise did Barlowe.

There is a good account of him in Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, to which I am much indebted. His real name was Finch; and the family, which seems to be one of some standing, lived in a hamlet in Essex, the name of which they took: this seems most probably to be Bartlow hamlet, in the parish of Ashdon. When in exile in Mary's reign, he appears several times, in *The Troubles of Frankfort*, as Mr. Bartue. He was an Augustinian Canon of S. Osyth; Prior of Blackmore; resigned 1509, to become Prior of Tiptree; 1515 Prior of Lees (Leighs?), all in Essex; 1524 Prior of Brome-hill, Norfolk; 1525 R. of Gt. Cressingham; 1528 Priory suppressed by Wolsey; c. 1533 Prior of Haverford West; 1534 Prior of Bisham; 1536⁵ Bp. of S. Asaph; same year, of S. David's; held

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Bisham in commendam (which proves his consecration); surrendered it (July); House refounded and dissolved a second time.

1548⁸, Bp. of Bath and Wells; so that both he and his suffragan (of Taunton) were Wm. Finch; resigned 1553; imprisoned; exiled; Bishop of Chichester 1559; died at a very advanced age, August 13, 1568.

His son William, R. of Easton, Preb. of Winchester and Lichfield, Archdeacon of Sarum, noted for magnetic discoveries; he can claim a share with Gilbert in laying the foundations of that science.

His five daughters all married bishops.

Another son, and others that died in infancy.

His works:—

1. Treatise of burying the Mass.
2. Dialogue between gentleman and husbandman.
3. Climbing up of friars and religious persons.
4. Description of God's Word compared to the light.
5. A convicious dialogue, without Title, against S. Thomas of Canterbury (never published).
6. A B C for the clergy.
7. Dialogue on Lutheran factions. (Lond. 12mo, 1553; reprint of 1531.)
8. Homilies.

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9. Brief somme of Geography. Royal MS. Brit. Mus. 18 B xviii. Dedicated to Henry VIII. Ascribed to Roger B., but erroneously (?)
10. Translation of Esdras, Judith, Tobit and Wisdom, in Bishops' Bible, 1568.
11. Letters. Several have been published. Revised Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians: 1541.
Took part in compiling "Institution of Christian Man," 1537.
Conference on Sacraments, 1540.
Queries about Mass, 1547.

With respect to the first of these, it seems to me that the term "Mass" was often used in an elastic manner, and too much may be inferred from it. There can be no doubt that many abuses had been incrustcd on to the Mass; not indeed of it, but associated with it; and these things I am persuaded would be as hateful to a pious Romanist now, as to any of our men, such as Barlowe, then. Pilkington incidentally lets out one of these abuses: when the accusation was brought that the Mass had been changed; he answers that it was only restored to what it was intended to be, a religious rite for the benefit of men's souls (and therefore to what the Missal contemplated), and not "for pocky pigs, scalled horses, or scabbed sheep." Such enormities may very well cause indignation and strong

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writing from pious and learned men, without it being a necessary consequence that they would extirpate the Eucharist altogether.

When Barlowe's Orders were first impugned, Mason answered it by the case of Gardiner, for whom also the records of consecration are missing. But there is a mention on the title of Gardiner's Register at Winchester, of his consecration. In the consideration of the improved attack on Barlowe, it would, I think, be quite open for an advocate to remember the words of Jewel, etc., and to maintain that this "consecration" merely meant the reception of the Papal Bull; so that Gardiner and Barlowe stand or fall together.

From Roman sources I have learnt the following:—

(1) Robert King was, on January 7, 1527, "consecrated" Bishop of Rheon, as suffragan to Lincoln: (he was afterwards Bishop of Oxford.)

(2) January 7, 1527, Robert King, Abbot of Thame, was "provided" by the Pope in Consistory, to the Bishopric of Rheon.

Am I to infer that the Pope's provision or nomination conferred consecration? If it did for King, why not for Gardiner?

The episcopate of the period presents other examples of the double surname, such as William Rugg (of Repps) Bishop of Norwich, John Capon (of Salcot) Bishop of Sarum, and the suffragan

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of Hull, Robert Pursglove, alias Sylvester, because he was a native of the woodland, or Peak, of Derbyshire.

Our author's name is variously spelt. I have adopted as the most appropriate form that on the title of this work; the other forms are Barlow, Barlo, Barloe, Barloo. The form Bartue would easily come from Bartlow by the process of softening the "l" common in French and Italian; while an Englishman would suppress the "t": and this transformation might also have been a matter of prudence at that time.

Curiously enough, Shakspeare gives us an example of a similar transformation: "I did impeticos thy *gratillity* (gratuity)." (*Twelfth Night*, Act ii., Scene 3.)

The arms of the family are given as:—

Argent, on a chevron engrailed between 3 crosses moline Sable 2 lions passant of the field.

They have also been given as:—

Argent, on a chevron between 3 cross crosslets fitchy Sable 2 lions encountering passant gardant of the field.

JOHN ROBT. LUNN, B.D.,
Vicar of Marton-cum-Grafton, and late
Fellow of S. John's College, Cambridge.

March 10th, 1897.

A DIALOGE

DESCRIBING THE ORIGINALL
GROUND OF THESE LUTHE
RAN FACCIONS, AND MA-
NY OF THEIR ABUSES,
COMPYLED BY
SYR WILLIAM
BARLOWE
CHANON
LATE BYSHOP OF BATHE

ANNO 1553

¶ A p^reface¹ of this booke, to the
reader

IN this presente Treatyce folowyng (gentle reader) is not onlye vttered and disclosed the beastlye begynnyng of Luthers furious faction, in Saxony, with the sedicious Scismes of the sacramentaries, Swynglius, Oecolampadius, and other of Swyckerland: but also verye playnlye here is shewed theyr monstrous maners and mutabilitie, theyr cankered contencions, and horrible ipocrisy, their develyshe devyses, and bytter blasphemye, with infinite lyke reliques of that raylynge religion, wherby the christian reader shall ryghte well perceauē, what fylthy frute buddeth out of this frantike fraternitie, and synfull Synagoge of Sathan, infernallye inuented, to seduce symple soules. Neyther canne there be a more open marke, to publyshe the pestiferous practises of these peruerse preachers, and wycked generation, than here is most lyuely and truelye set fourth to the

¹ This is the Preface to the reprint of 1553, by its editor (Bishop Gardiner?).

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worlde, by the auctor hereof, who had euident experience of theyr maners, fashion, and order of all states of them, beyng longe time by his owne confession, in theyr companye, and conuersaunte with them, euen with those whiche were of the hyghest reputation both for sobrenes of lyfe, & fame of literature, whose doynges & doctryne so muche myslyked him, that for no hatred to them, nor yet fauour to other, but euē for the discharge of his owne cōscience, instruction, and information of suche as be catholike, he thoughte it necessary playnelye to shewe the veritie thereof, to the ende that suche as nowe be addict to their horrible and haynous heresies, when they shall perceauē and se in theyr life and learnynge, theyr crafty and colourable iugglynge, lewde lyuynge, and develyshe disagreyng of a muster of monstrous married monkes, and false fleshlye freers, shal by goddes grace both forsake theyr fashions, deteste¹ theyr doctryne, and leaue theyr learnynge, whiche boke & dyalogue, beyng for this intent and godlye purpose longe agoo set forth and printed, it hath ben thought good for diuerse consideracions (the prynte beyng nowe worne out) yet eftesones at this present to be reuiued, & communicate to the catholyke readers, wherfore good reader callynge to remembraunce the olde wyttie sayinge: *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*, Happy is he

¹ abjure.

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whom other mens perylles or daungers do make circumspect or ware: Folow thou the counsell of S. Iohn: who in the iiii chapter of his canonicall epistle sayth as foloweth: *Nolite credere omni spiritui, sed probate spiritus si ex deo sint.* That is to saye, Geue not credyt to euery spirite, but do you proue yf they be of God.

Farewell in God.

¶ A preface¹ of the auctoure to
the readers

¶ Grace from God the father,
and from oure lorde Jesu
Chryst, with the assy-
stence of the holy
gooste

*
* *

WHEREAS I consyder (O Chrysten readers)
the daüger of wrytynge in the peryllous
season of these latter dayes, largelye depaynted by
Saint Paule, euen as it proueth now in dede, that
certayn persons depart from the fayth, and geue
hede to desceatefull spyrytes and deuelysh doctrine
through simulation of false wordes, bi whose
meanes it is come so to passe, that a lyttle faulte is
not onelye taken to the worste, but what so euer is
well done, spoken, or wrytten, is oftymes inter-
preted amysse: no marveyll though I so vnlearned
greatly abashe² to put my selfe in ieopardy of these

¹ This is the original Preface (1531). ² Feel myself abashed.

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rauyshing wolues, & pytyles soule murtherers, whiche byte with theyr teeth, and preache peace with theyr tongues, seyng that famous clerkes of pregnaunte wyttes, of excellent erudition, and singuler vertue, haue so litle auayled in wrytyng agaynst them: not that these new teachers of aunicyente heresy, & late auctors of olde inueterate scysmes, are so profounde in knoweledge of Scriptures, eyther so inuyc¹te of reasonable argumentes, that they haue not ben many tymes ouercome, as they be dayly vanquyshed, but because of theyr shameles pertinacite, where as they be prosecute and lye grouelynge vpon the grounde, destitute of reason, voyde of good argumentes, and withoute any sence of trueth, then strogle they to woorey men with wordes of conuycious² maledictions and sedicyous slaunders, not afrayd to despyce theyr souerayns withowte regarde of theyr power, contemnyng all auctoritie, contrarye to the doctryne of Saint Peter,³ saying: Be ye subiecte to euery manne for our lordes sake, vnto y^e king as cheife, and vnto the gouernours as to those that are sent by hym for the ponyshmente of the euyll & rewarde of the well doers: for so is the wyl of God, that doyng wel ye maye stoppe the mouthes of folysh and ignoraunt people, as free and not as a colour hauynge the lybertye of

¹ invict = unconquered.

² conuicious = railing.

³ 1 S. Pet. ii. 13.

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malyce, but as $\bar{y}$ seruauntes of God. Notwithstanding in theyr solempne prefacyes, and paynted tytles of theyr errours, they begynne wyth dulcet salutations, of glosinge perswasions, vnder the pretence of a godly zeale, oftymes repetynge the word of God, the gospell of Chryste, hys promyses, his charyte, &c. whereby they wold perswade to rude people, that whatsoeuer theye wryte or teache, are the same thynges be they neuer so contrary, euen as the comen sorte of vngracyous wretches do, whych in tellyng lyes & reporte of slaunders, will call into theyr recorde the trouth of God, the holy euangelystes, the blessed sacramentes, and all the misteries of oure beleef: not for any faythfull reuerence towarde them, but to the entent that they myght be better beleued in theyr falsehod.

Many thynges whyche are put forth under the tytle of the worde of God, is not his true worde in effecte, no more thā all those whiche beare the name of Christen men, be not al chrysten men in trouth & dede. Man lyueth not onely by breade, sayth scripture,¹ but in euery worde y^t commeth oute of the mouth of god. Mark here christē reders the worde that procedeth oute of the mouth of God, to y^e which we oughte nother to adde, nor to take any thyng away from it.² Arrius, Pela-

¹ S. Matt. iv. 4 ; Deut. viii. 3.

² Deut. iv. 2 ; Rev. xxii. 18.

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gius, Manicheus, wyth suche other, whome the moore parte of these sectes confesse to be here-tykes, dylygently layde the worde of God for theym, but not owte of hys mouth: for they applyed it by wronge interpretations to the setting forthe of theyr heresydes, and not to the glory of God. Saynt Paule heled syck folke, and draue the wycked spyryts from them that were possessed through goddes worde in the name of Iesu, whose doying the chyldren of Sceue¹ assayde to counterfete with lyke wordes: to whom the spyrit aunswered: I knowe Iesu and Paule, but what are ye? and so greuously assawtynge them, he preuayled agaynst theyr presumption. The aged Prophet of Bethell,² by whose desceate the manne of God sent out of Iuda to Ieroboham was slayne: alleged the worde of God. The false Prophete Sedechias³ with his cōpany, iiii. C.⁴ in number, falselye promysed kynge Achab vycorye to his destruction, layenge for theyr auctorytye the worde of God. Ananias⁵ resysted the true Prophete Ieremye, prophesyenge to the captyue Israhelytes lybertie and sone⁶ delyueraunce of theyr bondage, causynge them to truste in his leasyng,⁷ whiche he sayde was the worde of God. And generallye all other false Prophetes bosted them selues to be sente of God, & came to preach his truth, whome he never dyd sende,

¹ Acts xix. 13. ² 1 Kings xiii. 18. ³ 1 Kings xxii. 11.

⁴ 400. ⁵ Jerem. xxviii. 2. ⁶ soon. ⁷ falsehood.

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as he wytnessethe with his owne mouthe in diuers places of the byble. Furthermore all suche as occupye inchauntmentes, cōjurers, & wytches, in theyr busynes wyth manye ceremonies rehearse the word of God. Also our sauour Christe sayth¹ that manye shall come in his name, saying: I am Chryste, and they shall desceaue many, but howe? surely in perswading that their doctryne is Goddes word, and that they be hys messengers, hys annoynted sonnes² and specyall prophetes. So dyd Symon Magus³ delude the people of Samary, affermyng that he was Christe. Lykewyse Machomette named hym selfe the great prophete of God. And all other heretykes commenlye in fortifyenge theyr abhomynable heresyces, alledge the worde of God and euangelike veryte, accordyng as Martyn Luther with the whole rable of hys adherents do dayly practyse. But what auayleth it to resyte the worde of God, yf we interprete it by a false perverted sence? What auauntage is it to saye Lord Lorde, and do not as he cōmaūdeth us?⁴ He that saith I know God, and obserueth not hys commaundementes, is a lyer, and there is no truthe in hym.⁵ The Pharyseys Dyscyples sayd to Christe:⁶ Mayster, we knowe that thou art a true speaker, & thou teachest y^e waye of God in truthe, yet thoughte they nothyng so in theyr hartes. What

¹ S. Matt. xxiv. 5.

² S. Matt. xxiv. 24.

³ Acts. viii. 9.

⁴ S. Luke vi. 46.

⁵ 1 S. John ii. 4.

⁶ S. Matt. xxii. 16.

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thynges is more easy for these new teachers, than in blasynge theyr auctorytye, to saye that theyr doctryne is the trewe worde of God, and that they haue hys spyryte: where as they admyt no interpretacion of scripture but theyr owne, in so muche that they reiecte parte of the bible because it serueth not to theyr purpose.

Concerning the determinatiō of generall councelles, and auctorytye of auntyent doctours of the church, they vtterly contemne, excepte in fewe thynges whereoute they gather sentences, whyche falselye depraue and otherwhile chaunged clene contrarye to the auctoures intent, they make to serue in coulourynge theyr heresye. Howe shall wee then knowe whether they be the ryghte preachers, & theyr doctryn the word of god or noo? Trewlye Chryste geueth vs a rule infal-lyble, sayenge:¹ By theyr fruytes ye shall knowe theym. A good tree can brynge forthe no euyl fruyte, nor a badde tree canne brynge forthe no good frute. And they whiche here the worde of God with an earnest and good hart, they holde it faste, bryngynge forth fruyte in patience.² Also Saint Iames descrybyng the expedient condition of christen prechers, and heuenly learning sayth:³ who that among you is wyse endued with connyng, lette hym shewe hys good workes out

¹ S. Matt. vii. 16.

² S. Luke viii. 15.

³ S. James iii. 13.

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of a good conuersation wyth softenes of wyse-
dome. If ye haue sower hatred and varyaunce
amonge you in youre harte, wyll not ye reioyce,
and be lyars agaynst the truth? for thys is not
the wysdome comminge from aboue, but earthly,
bestial and develysh. Where as is enmyte &
contention, there is inconstancy and all noughty
doynge. The wisdom that descēdeth from God is
fyrste chaste, and so peaseable, mylde, treatable,
full of mercy, and good frutes, wythout any mys-
demynge or dyssymulatyon. Nowe to compare
these frutes vnto the actes of these Lutheran
factyons, ye shall fynde a farre difference.
Wherefore seyng that by longe experyence I
haue perceaued the fashion, manner, and order of
all states among them, and was no small whyle
conuersaunt wyth those whiche are of hiest repu-
tation, both for theyr sobernes of lyfe, and fame
of lyterature: I have thought it necessary for the
dyscharge of my conscience, and information of
other, playnlye to shewe the verytie as I haue
knowen, wythout hatred of them or fauoure of
any other persons: which to performe I haue here
compiled thys lytle processe folowynge, vnder the
forme of a breife dyaloge. Wherein though ye
shall rede some thynges so straunge for the
enormities of them, that diuers men, namelye the
fauourers of these sectes, wyll iudge them vn-
lykelye of trueth, and halfe impossyble to be vsed

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among resonable people endued wyth any wysdom or learning: yet are they matter in dede, accordynge as ye shall see vnfaynedlye declared. And be ye full assured that I reherse not by a greate parte all the abuses manyfestlye knowen by thē,¹ nor so many as I could shew: whiche god wyll- yng hereafter in proces of tyme maye be dysclosed more largelye. A greate occasion why that many be so feruēt in fauorynge this Lutherane doctryne, is the vayne prayses of much people commyng from thence, reportyng that there is so good order, suche charitable liberalitie, and euan- gelyke conuersation, whiche is all to gether false. And dyuers of suche tydyng cariers, lest they might seme ignoraunte in a fewe thinges, they frame theym selues wythoute shame, to lye in manye. It is harde for a renegade frere, a faythelesse apostata, a forlorne coopeman, a mar- chauntes prētyce, or an embassatours hostler, hauynge lytle learning, lesse dyscresyon, small deuocyon, and scant a curtesy of wysedome: to make true reporte in such matters. And yet are ther of them which make thē selues full busy, and are as redy to tell that they knowe not as y^t that they know, accordynge as they feale theyr affeccions desposed whome they couet to please: by whiche meanes they attayne hye cōmenda-

¹ Known against them: so "I know nothing by myself" (1 Cor. iv. 4).

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tions, made much of, & ar called prety wyse men & proper persōs, w^t many goddes blessinges upon theyr hartes. Suche is the maddenes of the worlde and folysh appetytes of people, preferring their corrupt affections before ryghte iudgement and testymonye of theyr consyence. Truthe it is that the Germayns of old antiquite haue deserued specyall lawde for theyr playnes in worde and dede voyd of dissimulation, and for theyr homelye famylyaryte wythout acception of persons, in whiche vnto this daye, they excel other nacions: wherof the originall cause manye falslye do ascrybe to thys Lutheran doctryne, beynge doubtlesse meruelously decayd throughe it, so y^t true playnesse was not wonte to be so scace there among scant good liuers, as fraudes begyn now to be plenty among theyr newe Gospellers. Wherefore (Christen reders) I exhort you all percialite set a parte, to fyxe youre selfe vppon the lyuyng worde of God whiche may saue your soules,¹ and walke dyrectlye after it, bowyng nether on the one syde nor on the other.

I meane not that fleshly worde nor theyr Gospell whiche saye: ye haue no fre wyll, youre good deedes shall not saue you, nor youre yldedes shall not dampne you,² the sacramētes of y^e Church be nothinge of necessite, ye nede not

¹ S. James i. 21.

² See Note on page 70.

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to be confessed to a preeste, ye are not bownde to obey the lawes of y^e Church, &c., but that true worde of god & verye gospell of our Sauyour Christe, of whose fyrste sermon the antetheme was thys: Doo ye pennaunce for y^e kyngdome of God is at hande.¹ And at hys laste farewell from his Disciples he affyrmed the same, saying that in his name it behoued penaūce to be preached in remyssyon of synnes: ² whiche maner of preachynge the apostles after his assention obserued,³ contynuallye exhortynge the people unto penaūce, and to the drede, of God, whiche is the begynnynge of wysedome, the inseparable companyon of penaunce, and necessary introduction to fayth. The worde of God bryngeth forthe penance, accordyng as we rede in the actes of the apostles. iii. y^t at saynt Peters preaching thei were compuncte in hearte,⁴ and offred themselfe to penaunce. This vnfayned pennaunce leadeth men to faythe, and is the entre to the gospel. Mar. i. Do ye pennaunce, sayth Christ, and beleue the gospell. Which beleif can not be attayned wythoute the drede of God. For it is the fulnes of scyence, whereby we come downe first to know oure self, & so ascende to y^e knowlege of God by his word, whereoute through hearynge fayth taketh her effect. The maiestie of goddes worde

¹ S. Matt. iv. 17. ² S. Luke xxiv. 47. ³ Acts ii. 38, iii. 19, etc.

⁴ Acts ii. 37 ; iii. in the text seems a misprint.

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is of that nature, to prostrate the presumpcyon of mannes wysedome & affyaunce in our selues, ex-lyng¹ thaffections of carnall liberte, & mouing vs wyth a readynes of minde & certayne trimbling feare to say with saynt Paule,² Lorde, what wyllst thou vs to doo? Thys reuerent drede had Cornelius Centurio, whan the ioyful messenger of God appeared vnto hym, to whō with feare abashed he sayd:³ Lorde, who art thou? in whose commendation it is written there, Actes. x. that he was a deuout man and dreading god. Likewise, Luk. iii. y^e shepe herdes, whan y^e aungell of glad tidinges appeared to them, and y^e brightness of God shone roūd about thē: hauyng thys drede, were astonnyed in them selues, to whom the aungell spake: Be not afrayd, lo I shew you great ioye that shall be to all people, for there is borne a Sauyoure which is Christe oure lorde.⁴ In Exodo it is wrytten, xiiii. y^e people feared God, and so beleued hym & hys seruaunt Moyses.⁵ And they that drede god, sayth the wysemanne, shall not be vnfaythfull to hys worde.⁶ Alsoo Saynt Iohn rehearseth in his Apocalypse sayinge:⁷ I sawe an aungell flyenge by the myddes of heuen, hauing y^e euerlastinge Gospell, that he shoulde preach to the dwellers vppon yearthe, &

¹ banishing.

² Acts ix. 6.

³ Acts x. 2, 4.

⁴ S. Luke ii. 9, 10; iii. is a misprint.

⁵ Exod. xiv. 31.

⁶ Eccclus. ii. 15.

⁷ Rev. xiv. 6, 7.

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to euery nacion, & trybe, and tonge, and people, saying wyth a greate voyce: Feare ye God. But now cometh the aungell of Sathan wythe his ydle iustifications and vayne promyses, cleane contrarye perswading y^t we nede no workes of penance nor satysfaction for our synnes, syth Chryste hath satysfied for vs all ready, onely to beleue is ynoughe, wythdrawynge people from the godly drede. Howbeit leaste his disceate shulde be easelye perceaued: he transfgureth hym selfe into a trewe angelles lykenes, sometime teachynge vertuouse maners, brotherlye charyty, the example of Christes actes & oure nedefull accompyshment of thē, wherin he wolde seme to profyte a few, to the intente he myght begyle many. And dyuers of hys Disciples counterfeytyng the apostles fashyon: otherwhythes alledge scryptures in theyr right sences, with the same deuoute synceryte that Sathanne hym selfe dyd in temptynge Chryste when he sayd to him:¹ God hath commaunded his aungelles, &c. whiche was the very scrypture truelye recyted, all though to a wronge purpose. But where as he in his owne person coulde not ouercome Christ our head: he ceasseth not to supplante vs hys Christen members by hys false Disciples, and is lyke styll to preuayle (oure merytes deseruing y^e wrath of god) excepte he of hys in-

¹ S. Matt. iv. 6 ; Psalm xci. 11.

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finyte goodnes and gracyous pytie, vouchesafe to reconcyle vs agayne vnto hys fauour, and be oure protectour: whose mercy is the onely staye that we be not all consumed.¹

Therefore lette vs drawe nere with confydence to the throne of grace, y^t we may gette mercy and fynde grace to helpe vs at nede,² contynuallye hauynge in oure remembraunce the voyce of the aungel sayinge:³ Feare ye God, and geue hym honoure, for the hour of iudgement commeth. And worshyp ye hym

that made heauen and

yearth, the sea, and

fountaynes of

waters,

to

whome be prayse for euer

wythout ende.

Amen.

Fare ye well.

*
* *

¹ Lam. iii. 22.

² Heb. iv. 16.

³ Rev. xiv. 7.

Nicholas. Wylliam.

NOW welcom good brother frō parties of beyonde the sea. We haue sore longed for your safe retourne, hopynge to heare some newes from oure Euangelyke brotherne of Germanye, and in what maner the Gospell doeth prosper there and go forward.

¶ *W.* Syr I thanke you for your welcommynge. Howbeit concernynge your desyre, to be certyfyed of them whom ye call euangelyke bretherne: I assure you unfaynnglye that I lyke theyr maner euerye daye worse & worse.

¶ *N.* What haue ye so sodenly changed your mynd, and begynne now to fall from the Gospell forsakyng Goddes worde?

¶ *W.* Truelye I haue chaunged my mynde from errours and wronge opinions, but neuer entendynge to renye¹ Goddes worde or Christes gospell: whereof as farre as I can perceaue they be destitute and mucche wyde.

¶ *N.* To proue y^s ² it were impossible, seyng ye

¹ abjure.

² this.

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can not denye but that they haue Chrystes Gospell in theyr vulgar speche imprēted, fre for euerybody to loke vpon, with contynuall exercyse of euan-gelyke preachynge of Goddes worde.

¶ *W.* In verye dede they haue the exteriour letter, with some outwarde apparaunce of zeale towarde it. But for all that as towchynge an euan-gelyke lyfe or a christen conuersation, with faythfull fruytes behoueable¹ to the same: they be neuer a deale nerer in effecte than were the lewes, whyche woulde haue made Christe theyr kynge,² not for anye syncere loue that they had to folowe hym in vertuous lyuinge, or for reuerence of hys godly worde, but onelye in that they thought he would haue satisfied their carnall appetytes, and seditious affections: wherof to be auctoure he was afterwarde wrongfully suspect,³ euē as we see now a dayes hys gospell euyll spoken vpon thorowe the sclaunderouse behaueoure, & wycked demeanour of them, whom in contempt of good people, ye call euangelike & Christē brethren, auauncynge⁴ them selues to be onelye the trewe folowers and obseruers of Christes gospell, where as theyr lyuinge manifestly repugneth. So that after my iudgement the cheife captaynes of them may be lykened to Theudas & Iudas. Act. v. which vnder a colour of Messias comynge the

¹ corresponding.

² S. John vi. 15.

³ S. Luke xxiii. 2.

⁴ putting forward.

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very sauour and redemer from all bondage, whose offyce wrongfully vsurpyng by false promyses of lybertye, peruerted much people of the Jewes for to folowe thē, to theyr vtter vndoyng and finall destruction.

¶ *N.* These sedytious personnes to applye vnto Martyn Luther, and his folowers, is both agaynste the treuth & witnes of your owne conscience yf ye duely examyne it. For it is playne that thys Theudas and Iudas, of a presumptuous affection and unquyetnes of mynde, wythoute auctorytie of Goddes worde or preferremente of hys honoure, sedycyously moued the people to folow thē & not God: where as Martyn Luther with such other euangelike preachers, auaunce not presumptuouslye them selues but god onely, nother¹ perswade the people to folowe them but Christe: whose Gospell longe season obscured by mennes tradicions, they labour to bryng vnto lyght, and to restore the captyued conscyences of ignoraunte folke vnto the fredome of Goddes word, whereof muche people nowe a dayes are no lesse desyrous than the Iewes were of theyr delyueraunce of bodely captyuyte.

¶ *W.* To aunswere you in this point, I doubt nothing but this Theudas and Iudas pretended to the people (whom they fynallye disceaued) y^e auctorite of God, & that they were speciallye

¹ nor.

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sent of him for their deliuerance, shewing some coloured apparence vnto y^e same: Lyke as Martyn Luther in y^e begynnynge pretended a meruelouse zeale & tender affection towarde the blynd ignorance of people, for to reduce theym vnto y^e clearenes of knowlege, shewyng such a feruent spyrit, that he was iudged to be syngulerlye chosen of God now in these latter dayes, for a dew reformation of the hole worlde.

But consyder to what open myscheife hys secrete malignite braste¹ forthe at last, and how many thousandes by occasion of his doctryne haue perished and dayly perishe both in body and soule: whereof to haue a further declaration, yf ye wyll here me with patience, I shall so describe vnto you the fashion of hym and of hys adherentes, that ye may euidently know y^t2 they are no Discyples of Christ, but of Antychryste, no trewe doctours but false dysceauers, no Apostles but apostatas, and patrons of peruersitie.

¶ N. Now I beseeche you thē to procede on youre purpose, declarynge it at length: and I shall gladly geue you the hearynge with out interruption, trusting verely that all parcialitie set aparte, ye wyll shewe the verye trueth, accordynge as ye haue perfittly knowen by experience. And thus doynge ye may setle many mennes hartes at rest in this troubelous season, so sore encombred with

¹ burst.

² that.

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contentious and sondrye opynions of learned men, that they can not tell what partye they maye beste leane unto.

¶ W. Syr fyrste of al I protest here, that I entend to speake no further thanne I haue perceaued amonge them my selfe, or elles perfytelye enformed by credable personnes, of whose certification I ought to haue no mystrust.¹ Wherfore for to goo vnto my purpose, ye shall vnderstande that thys Martyne Luther cheyfe Captayne of newe heretikes, & bringer forth of olde heresyas, was a freere Augustyne in the cite of Wittenberge, vnder y^e dominion of Frederike duke of Saxony. Whyche duke opteyned a pardon fro Rome for the buylding of a certayne college there within his owne pallace, wherof Martin Luther was a great setter forward, vntyll the tyme that thither came a Iubelye from the Pope, dysanullyng the dukes pardon among other for a season: wherwith Martyn Luther not a litle offended, endeuoured hymselfe to preach agaynst it. And sone after he putte forthe in prynt a treatyse, *De indulgentijs*, inueynge² agaynst the graunt of pardons how be it so closely, that he was supposed not to haue condemned the auctoritie but only the abuse, whiche to saye the truth was to farre oute of frame³ in

¹ No better evidence than this can be expected, especially when it is contemporary.

² inveighing. ³ out of order ; abuses really indefensible.

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that prouince. And also he toke in hande to preache the playne textes of scrypture, dysclosing the blyndnes of the world, and detectyng the fautes of al estates, both hyghe and lowe, spy-rytuall and temporall, vnder suche moderation that he was taken for a prophete of God amonge them, and grew in estimation of y^e people dayly more and more. Notwithstandynge he pretended to take no parte with any secte other¹ faction of Heretikes, as Wicklyf, Hus, Berengarius, and suche other whom he vtterly condemned, dyssalowynge the Boemes,² because they separated them selues from the church of Rome, constantly affyrmyng the pope to be Christes vicarye. Thus he playd the wolfe in a lambes skynne a whyle secretly, tyl his frutes gaue euidence & openly bewrayd what he was in effect. For shortly after he altered his mynde, & reuoked that he had spoken before, wysshing all his bookes that were em-ptynted to be burned & vtterly destroyed. Then beganne he stoutly to fortify his fayned fayth³ voyde of good workes, perswadyng lybertie and assuraunce of saluacion to the defacinge of charitable deedes and suppression of the drede of God. Then preached he pleasaunte thynges to hys audyence, howe no manne was bounde to confesse hym vnto a preist, nether to obserue the prescription of prelates aboute fastynges and exception of meate

¹ or.

² Bohemians.

³ his invention of faith, &c.

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and dryncke, and that no person needed to payne¹ hym self wyth woorkes of satysfacyon, whyles Chryste hadde payd ynoughe for vs all. Also how constitutions of Popes and Bysshoppes bynde vs nothyng. Then all his Sermones were agaynste the cleargye, callynge the Pope Antichrist, and his folowers Dysciples of Sathans Synagoge, in whose defiaunce he made a booke intytuled, *De captiuitate Babilonica*, ful of conuycyous furyes, and ragynge blasphemye agaynst the blessed Sacramentes, preferryng his owne iudgement aboue the holy doctours of the church. And where as he had wytnessed before, that Wicklyfe, Hus, Berengarius, & suche other were heretikes: than he sayde that they were godlye men and saintes, callynge their condempners Antechristes and limmes of the Deuyll. Furthermore to bring kynges, princes, and temporall Gouernoures in contempte of theyr subiectes: he spared nother by preachyng nor teaching to rayle agaynst them, somtime preuely where he durst not discouer his malyce for feare of displeasre, and sometyme apartelye² there as he thoughte hymselfe in no daunger of thē on whome he rayled: as wytnesse the letters of conspyracie which he craftelye forged to destroye the Duke George of Saxonye.

Also the outrageous treatyse that he wrote agaynst the kinges hyghenes³ both in latyn and

¹ take any trouble about. ² openly. ³ Henry VIII.

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Duch, so shameles and sedicyouslye, that it is not onely condemned of good men, but also abhorred of his owne adherentes. Yet all thys whyle he forbare the comons & vplandyshe people, and encouraged them to note other mens vyces, rather than to amend theyr own fawtes, alledgyng oftentimes vnto them, tyranny of prynces oppression of the clergy, wyth other manyfolde miseries and wretched calamities, whyche he sayd they were wrongfully compelled to suffer. Whereby within small processe of tyme, they toke suche a stomake, that the drede of God and man set asyde, they arose vppe wyth open sedicyon in dyuers parties of Germanye aboue the noumber of an hundred thousande personnes, in such a furious fasshion, that euerye man almooste stode in feare of hys lyfe. Wherfore M. Luther perceyuyng no small ieoperdye toward him throughe their insurrection, because the occasion of it was layd to his charge as it was in deede: immediatly to shyfte hym selfe from suspition and daungerous displeasure of the prynces & great men he wrote hastely a boke voyde of all Chrysten charitie and naturall compassion, agaynste the sayde commons or vplandyshe people, so extremely y^t it would abhorre an hethen hart to here or reade it, enforcyng euerye man wythoute anye respecte of pytie, to kyll and slee theym as houndes: of whome were myserablye slayne in one place and another, aboue. iii. score

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thousand persons, y^e resydue beyng nowe a lyfe in farre greater misery & calamytie than euer they were afore. After thys fell a dissention betwene M. Luther and Carolstadius, aboute the Sacramente of the aultar. For Carolstadius denyeth in it the bodelye presence of Christe, affyrmyng that when he spake these words: *Hoc est corpus meū* he meant them of his owne corporall bodye and not of the Sacrament: where as M. Luther holdeth the contrarye, all be it he beganne to fall frome it, as his owne wrytinge testyfyeth, had he not ben preuēted by this Carolstadius, whome the wicked arrogauncy of his stomake could not suffer to be auctoure of so hye an heresye, whereof he coueted hym selfe to have ben father. Thys varyaunce enduryng betwyxte them: dyuers forsoke M. Luther and leaned to Carolstadius syde, & manye malycyous letters fraudulētly forged, were conueyed frome the one to the other, with calumnious prechinges, ye and when they met together, more ready wyth fystes than with pacient arguments to trye their cause hadde they not bene sondered. Notwithstanding through fauour of the duke and other valyaunt frendes, M. Luther so preuayled agaynst him that he was excommunicate: & beyng a man of auntyent age, an olde preist newly married, and some tyme archedeaken of Wyttenberge, was fayne to leaue hys younge wyfe, and auoyde the domyn-

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yon of Saxony. After that he had wandred through dyuers cities and townes swadyng¹ his opynion with odyous reporte, to the minishynge of M. Luthers fame: at laste he cam to Scirich² in Switzerlande, where he founde one accordynge to hys execrable appetyte, named Swynglyus, which was there an exceeding setter forth of M. Luthers doctryn. To whom as sone as he had disclosed his detestable heresye agaynst the blessed sacrament, he gladly accepted hym, and in denyinge the corporall presence of Christ, agreed both in one, sauynge in this poynte they differed: where as Carolstadius sayd that our saveour Chryst spekyng these wordes: *Hoc est corpus meum*, meant his corporall presence there syttyng with his disciples at the table & not in forme of bread: Swinglius affyrmed that they were not to be understood lytterallye, but by a figure of interpretation, so that *est* was taken for *significat*, and these wordes of Chryste, thys is my bodye, were as muche to saye, as this sygnifyeth my body. Of thys matter he wrote sondry epistles to dyuers of his famylyar frendes, gloriouslye reioycing that he hadde founde oute the longe unknownen truethe, of so hyghe a mysterye: not by the occasyon of Carolstadius (as he boasted) but through his own diligent readyng of Scripture, & specyally of Saynt Augustyns workes, whoe in verye dede is

¹ insinuating.

² Zurich.

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cleane contrary to his horryble heresy. Neuerthelesse many of M. Luthers adherentes assented vnto hym, amonge whome the cheif was Oecolampadius: whiche beynge a seculer preiste of. xl. yeares of age, entred the religion of saint Bryggyttes order in the prouince of Bauarye,¹ and for heresies that he hadde vttered both by preachynge aud wrytyng, standinge in daunger of the Dukes attachiamente, he ranne awaye pryuylye wyth a nonne of the place, whome sone after he forsoke, and gat him for refuge to a Lutheran Prynce named Fraunces de Sychken, a noble personnage by byrthe, but a cruell tyraunte of behaueoure, a greate murtherer, a common spoiler of marchauntes and a rouere² of hyghe wayes, whyche maynteyned hym and one Hutten³ a Knyghte of the newe Gospel, geuen holy to mischeife, tyll at the least for fear of displeasure of other prynces, he was driuen to put them away. Oecolampadius came then to Basyll, and there he founde manye fauourers of M. Luthers faction: by whose ayde he was promoted to be curate of a paryshe church. Where he handled hys matters with such cloked hypocrisie, that he wanne⁴ many mennes hartes, craftely sowynge sedicious disturbauce betwixte the temporalte & the spiritualtye in such wyse that the hole cytye was oftentimes in

¹ Bavaria.

² rover.

³ Ulric Hutten. See more about him *infra*.

⁴ won.

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parell¹ of insurrection, and in daunger to be destroyed.

But thoughe he approued the oppynyon of Swinglius with preferrement aboue Carolstadius: yet conceiued he another pryuate vnderstandynge, saying, y^t *Hoc est corpus meum*, oughte thus to be interpreted: this is a fygure or a representacyon of my bodye, allegying Tertulliane, Chrisostome & saynt Austen for hys auctoritye, whom he vnderstandeth amysse, and recyteth falsely, sometyme addynge more to theyr wordes, sometyme takynge away from theyr sentences. In thys space Martyn Luther wrote a conuycyous boke agaynst Carolstadius, and he an aunswere to the same of lyke spyryte, and semblable charyte, so y^t Swinglius and his company whiles other menne wondred at theyr madnesse, laughed them bothe to scorne. Carolstadius perceyuing that he was not so highly esteemed as he reckened to haue bene, alsoo longynge verye soore for the companye of hys yonge wyfe: at laste he made meanes to be reconciled again to Martyn Luther and hys churche, which was graunted hym vpon condycyon that he shoulde reuoke his opinion of y^e sacrament, wherto he agreed albeit he helde not longe touche with them. But as sone as he had recouered his wyfe agayn, he gat him out of y^e waye, into a vilage, & there kept a comune tauerne, besely vttryng his

¹ peril.

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olde heresyес, and dayly contryuynge newe. Thus in Germany muche vnquietnes encreased and trouble oute of measure, with intollerable varyaunce betwene seculer people and the clergie: many dyffamed¹ lybelles & slaunderous wrytynges euerye where disperpled² abroad. And wher as was but one faction before, onlye of the Lutheranes: than sprang there vp another, whiche be called Oecolampadians or Swynglianes, out of whom yssued also the third faction named Anabaptistes, conteyning aboue. xl. sectes of dyuers heresyес and sonderye opinions.

¶ *N.* In good fayth ye tell here a shrewde tale by theym. And yf it be true as ye reherse, I lyke theyr manners a great deale worse than I dyd. But specially I meruayle that they be deuyded into so manye factions & sondrye sectes seyng they pretende to professe the onely doctryne of Chryst, whiche nouryssheth no such cōtencyous dyuersitie: for he is the God of peace and not of dissenciō.

¶ *W.* I ensure you there be in Germany iii C.³ sectes aboue y^e number that I haue named, of whose varyable opinyons, I cowlde partelye make rehersall yf I had conueniente oportunte.

¶ *N.* Nowe I praye you for the satysfyenge of my conscience and of dyuers other whiche peradvēture haue ben desceaued and broughte to

¹ Pamphlets of a defamatory character. ² dispersed. ³ 300.

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errours, by the fayned report of them, which wold dylate their heresyес vnder nethe the coulour of vertuose lyuyng, boldelye affyrmyngе in reproch of our catholike beleue y^t amonge them is perfyte peace, concord, true loue and charitie, frely admynistred to euery one in necessity wythout respect of persons. But fyrst I wold that ye declared somewhat of the .iii. principall factions.

¶ *W.* The fyrste as I haue shewed you are called Lutherans, because they folow Luthers doctrine. The seconde lykewyse are called Oecolampadyanes or Swynglyans, and are as one wyth the Lutheranes in raylynge agaynst the cleargy, and in contempnyng the authorite of the churchе, but in the sacrament of the aultar they be gretely repugnaunt: and so farre at varyaunce, that they haue made large volumes full of outragious furies one against another, in suche vncharitable maner that it excedeth the blasphemouse contencyons of all heretykes and infydeles that euer were before our daies. ye¹ theyr hatefull ennemyte is so malycyous, that yf anye of the Oecolampadyanes resorte amonge the Lutheranes: they shalbe excommunicated as hethen personnes, and fynd very small charyte, whiche they call loue after the newe interpretatyon.² And in lyke maner y^e Lutheranes shall fynde as lyttle fauour amonge the Oecolampadyanes. The thyrde faction be

¹ yea.

² 1 Cor. xiii. 1.

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called Anabaptysts, because they are twyse Chrystened, and wyll admyt none as theyr faythfull brethren except they be rebaptized agayne. They suffre not theyr chyldren to be Chrystened vntyll they be of greate age, and haue manye straunge opynyons. They affyrme that it is impossyble for Kynges, prynces, iustices, and other gouernours of y^e comon weale, to be Christē men. They obstynately hold that it is vnlawfull for a iudge to requyre any othe of a Christē mā.¹ They saye that chrysten men oughte to make no prouysyon nor resistance agaynste theyr enemies² but frelye suffer thē to do their wyll. Also they shewe holy perfection outwardly, obseruyng vygyles, fastynges, wyth contynuall readyng of scrypture, redye to helpe theyr nedy brothren, vsynge theyr goodes in commone. And they dispraise much the lyuyng of the Lutheranes & Oecolampadians, sayenge as I haue hard them my selfe reporte, that they be worse than the cleargye, whom they call Papistes, for because they haue the Gospel in theyr mouthes and frame theyr lyues no thyng thereafter, shewyng none amendment of their lewd conuersation, but continue styll in vycyous excesses after the common rate of mysbeleuers. And therefore they be in greuous hatred and suffre muche persecution of the other, as excommunication, exyle, empryson-

¹ See Article 39.

² See Article 37.

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mente, & oftentymes cruell execution of death: insomuche that it is enacted throughoute Suytzerland among y^e Oecolampadyanes, and in dyuers other places, that whosoeuer is founde of the Anabaptystes faction, he shall be throwen quycke into the water, & there drowned.

¶ *N.* I se well than sayenge and doynge are not al one. For I am enformed that Martyn Luther hath wryten extremely agaynst the persecution of Prelates,¹ affyrmyng it to be agaynst the spyryte of God to persecute or to put to death for vnbeleife or errours consyderynge that faith (as he doth saye) is a gyfte of god, & no man maye haue it of hym selfe. Also because Chryste neuer compelled anye man to beleue in hym, cōmaundyng the wedes² to be suffered amonge the corne, vntyll the heruest cōmeth.

¶ *W.* No fayle he wrote so at the begynninge, but after warde experience taught hym the contrarye. For if so be that he & the Oecolampadians had permitted theyr clientes to do what they lusted without any restraynte: they had ben quite oute of auctorite ere this tyme a daye. Apon which consideration it was forfended³ in all cyties and iurisdictiones of the Lutherans, that no man shuld bye or sell other⁴ receaue anye booke

¹ Persecution set on foot by prelates.

² S. Matt. xiii. 29, 30.

³ forbidden that any man should buy, etc.

⁴ or.

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or treatyse compyled by the Oecolampadyanes. And they in lyke maner made actes to suppress the Anabaptystes, fearyng least theyr sectes shuld vaynquysh theyr faccyon.

¶ *N.* Yf the Anabaptists haue so many sectes as ye recyte, I praye you to declare some of them.

¶ *W.* At your instaunce I shall gladly. There be some whyche holde opynyon that al deuylles & damned soules shal be saued at the daye of dome. Some of them perswade that the Serpent whych dysceaued Eue was Christ. Some of thē graunt to euery man and woman two soules. Some affyrme lecherye to be no synne, and y^t one maye vse another mannes wyfe withoute offence. Some take vpon them to be sooth sayers and Prophetes of wonderfull thynges to come, and haue prophesied the daye of iudgement to be at hande: some with in three monethes, some with in one monneth, some wythin .vi. dayes. Some of them both men and women at theyr congregatyons for a mysterye, shewe them selues naked, affyrmyng that they be in the state of innocencye. Also some holde that no man ought to be punisshed, or suffre execucyon for any cryme or trespase be it neuer so horryble, whereof I wyl shew you an example done mater in dede.¹ In Switzerland a lytle frō saynt Gal, at a place

¹ as a matter of fact.

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named *Cella Abbatis*, one of these Anabaptistes slewe his owne brother, & smote of hys heade. When he was demaūded why he dydde so, this was his aunswer: It was the wyll of the father that I should do it, and so he escaped wythoute punysshemente. For thoughe they be gredy in reproving other mēs fawtes, makyng haynous exclamations agaynst them: yet ponder they full lytle the correctyon of theyr owne enormityes, callynge them infyrmytyes and weaknes of the fleshe be they neuer so abhomynable.

¶ *N.* Well yet me thynketh by youre sayinge here before, that many of them leade a more cōmēdable lyfe in face of y^e world than the common sort of y^e Lutheranes or Oecolampadians.

¶ *W.* ye¹ verelye vnto the outwarde ostentation. But there cometh greater inconuenience by theym whiche haue suche a shadowe of holy lyuyng, than by the other. And there is nothyng more peryllous in seducyng the symple, than a paynted pretence of a holye lyfe, where as they swerue ones frō the ryght fayth and catholyke beleife. Whiche is easye to be proued by euydente examples as well of the olde heretiques, as of oure new Captaynes of the moste hye heresies. And to shew you the trueth as I haue expertely founde,² some I haue knowen so angelyke of conuersation, y^t I coulde haue founde

¹ yea.

² found by experience.

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in my harte to commytte my soule wholly into theyr dyrection: whom afterwarde I haue perfytelye perceyued to be auctours of such detestable heresies, that it wold make a christē hart to tremble for to here thē ones named.¹ And to tell you of one amonge manye, I was aquaynted with a certayn personne of the Oecolampadians in y^e citie of Argentyne,² whiche led a lyfe inculpable amonge his neighbours, and was reputed of vertuous conuersation, exercysynge hym self continually in charytable workes, and vnderstode freshelye the scriptures in his mother tonge, for he was ignoraunte of Latyne. Afterwarde he fell into so abhominable heresie, that he denied openly the new testament sayinge that Christ was a false Prophete, and all his apostles disceuers, acceptynge no part of the olde Testament, but the fyue bookes of Moyses. The cheif preachers and lerned mē of the cytye came vnto hym for to reforme hym by waye of dysputatyon, and to brynge hym from his erreure, requyrynge hym to shewe what ground of Scripture, or what occasiō moued hym to take so peryllous opynyon. To whome he answered coldly with soft wordes & demure countenance, how he woulde nether dispute nor argue with theym, sayinge that it was his beleif & was assured of God with witnesse of his cōscience to

¹ to hear them once named.

² Strasburg.

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be trewe. Apon this incōtinent he was en-
 prysoned and at laste brought before the lordes
 of the towne, whiche in lyke manner exhorted
 hym to reuoke his heresydes, manacynge hym
 with feare of terrible death, if he would not
 chaūge hys erronious mynde. He answered that
 he was redy to suffre whatsoeuer death God
 had ordeyned hym vnto, and woulde nether for
 fear, nor for fauour go from hys opynyon.
 Wherefore after a sufficient delyberation, seyng
 he woulde tourne by no meanes, sentence was
 geuen that he shoulde be burned.

¶ *N.* In good faythe well worthy: but was he
 burned in deede?

¶ *W.* No. For when he shoulde haue gone to
 the place of execution, accordynge to the vsaunce
 of the countreye, he was first brought before the
 towne howse, and there his artycles recyted. He
 was asked whether they were the very same
 which he hadde affyrmed before them. He aun-
 swered ye. Howbeit nowe (he sayd) God hath
 opened my ignoraunce, & I acknowlege me
 slaunderously to haue erred, askynge you all
 forgyuenes. I beleue perfytely that Iesus Chryst
 is my sauyour, and am redy in his fayth to
 suffre thys deth prepared for me. The lordes
 then where as they had giuen sentence that he
 shuld haue ben burned, for a more easye deth,
 they assigned him to be behedyd, wherof he

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thanked thē, and went towarde the place of iustyce, patiently takynge hys death with great repentaunce.

¶ *N.* This may be a good admonisshment that men shoulde not be so wauerynge in fayth, as to geue credence in all thinges to any persone for y^e onely pretence of exterioure holines, in as muche as the deuyll can transfigure hym selfe into an angels lykenes, and a false peruerter take vppon hym the offyce of a trewe Apostle. Moreouer I consider by your cōmunicacyon, and playne experyence here rehearsed, that yf the frowarde sturdynes of vnruly people were not restrayned by lawes, prohibitions, & sharpe punyshmentes, euery common weale woulde be sone subuerted, and the whole world come to noughte.

¶ *W.* As for that ye may take example not farre hens at the county of Emdone¹ in East Fryselande, where the earle, ruler of the county, fyrste receyuyng Martyn Luthers doctryne, & afterwarde Oecolampadius opynion: suffered his people to read all maner of Bookes, and to be of what so euer secte or opynion they would without any restraynt. Shortelye after one of theyr cheife preachers whiche hadde bene a freer obseruante, a man of subtyle learnynge, and pleasaunt speache, hyghlye estemed among the people: beganne to preache in openne audience agaynst the blessed

¹ Emden.

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trinitie, sayenge that there was but one person, one God, and that our Sauyour Christe was a creature as we are, a pure man, and not God, but hauynge goddes spyryte. This caused not a lyttle dyscorde betwene the preachers and the people, for many of the country leaned vnto him takynge his parte so stronglye that the earle was fayne to banyshe hym oute of hys domynion, all be it hys pestyferous sede remayned styl. Then cam thither doctour Baltazar, and after hym Carolstadius, bryngynge in the faction of y^e Anabaptistes, to y^e augmentinge of greater confusiō. For wher as some christened theyr chyldren theyr next neyghbours wolde not, one condemnyng another with dedly hatred. The meane season a certayne skynner of Denmarke in the Dukedome of Holsacye,¹ where Martyne Luthers doctryne was onely in strength, preched Oecolampadius opinion with so craftye argumentes, that Martynes fame began to decreace. Wherefore doctoure Pomerane was sent from Wyttenberge to dyspute agaynst hym, and in conclusion obtayned the vycторыe throughe partiall fauoure (as some reported) of the duke and Lordes of the cytyes of Homburghe and Breame:² whyche immediatly commaunded that no man shulde be so hardye to contrarye or swerue from the doctryne of Martyn Luther, vnder payne of banysshynge,

¹ Holstein.

² Hamburg and Bremen.

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and other punysshement. Thē two prechers of Breame were sent to Emdone to dyswade y^e earle & his people from Oecolampadius opinion, and from the confuse dyuersyte of other sectes, also to reduce theym agayne vnto Martyn Luthers wayes. The earle with his coucell at theyr perswasions alienated theyr mindes frō Oecolampadius, streytely charging all those preachers whiche had susteyned his faction, or anye other, sauynge Martyn Luthers, to departe oute of hys cuntrye by a certayne daye apoynted. Then was it a wonder to se what murmuration, grudge, and rumoure of sedycion was amonge the people, not withoute lykelyhed of fallynge together by the eares, & insurrection agaynste theyr prynce, had not he sought prouydent meanes to pacify thē. This cōtinued no longe space but letters came from Argentyne, Basyle, zyricke, Bearne, and from many persons of notable erudition, after theyr estemyng, also from the prynce of Hesse, aduertisyng the earle wyth seryous exhortation, to call home agayne y^e preachers of Oecolampadius factiō, and reprehendynge his sodayn mutabylytie from theyr institute, so apparente by manyfeste coniectures to preuayle aboue the other. At whose importune requestes and subtile instygacyons, he chaunged yet agayne hys purpose, and gaue the Oecolampadian preachers licence to returne into theyr olde places, and lybertie to

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preache as they were before accustomed; commaunding silence vnto the other, or elles auoydaunce of his countrie. Lo thus may ye se what varyable inconstancye and sondry mutations of condemned heresyces hath ensued with euident confusion, where as people be deuided from the vnitye of the christen church, & contemne to walke after the wholsome decrees of catholike fathers, wrestynge the ryght sence of scryptures vnto theyr crooked ymaginacyons. And specyallye where the brydle of sensualitye is set at large, to the sturdye frowardnes of sedicyous subiectes, sometime by the effeminat tēdernes of princes, so negligētly regarded, y^t after warde theyr fearfull rygour is scant able to redresse it: which hath bene y^e lamentable decay of the Boemes, and is now the ruynous myscheife of the hye Almaynes, not vnlykely to be the desolation of christendome yf remedy be not founde in season.

¶ *N.* Sauynge your pacyence me thought ye declared here y^t the Landgraue of Hesse is a fauourer of Swinglius & Oecolampadius, who wyth his people as I vnderstande admytteth Martyn Luthers wayes and none other.

¶ *W.* I wyll not denye but he maynteyneth styl Martyn Luthers doctryne, albeit synce the dysputation was before hym, he hath fauoured so greatlye the opynion of Oecolampadius and Swinglius, y^t were it not as I deme for feare of dis-

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pleasyng the confederate cosyne the duke of Saxony, and frentyke perturbation of Martyn Luther, he wolde haue sustayned it openly ere this tyme. Wytnesse the glorious comendation vnto their faces whiles they were present, and synguler preferremēt of thē amonge hys famylyer counsellers, also hys beneuolent lyberalytie at theyr departyng wyth letters afterward betwyxe thē farsed¹ full of paynted prayses ī theyre absence.

¶ *N.* I beseche you when and vnder what maner was thys dysputation.

¶ *W.* In the yere of our Lord .1528. the prince of Hesse in his cheife cyte of Marburge caused there to be assembled Martin Luther, Melancton, Oecolāpadius, Swinglius, Capito, Butzer,² wyth many other of y^e most famous clerkes of the Lutheranes and Oecolampadianes (the Anabaptistes onely excluded) where dyuers artycles were doubtfully proponed³ to y^e nomber of .xv. whyche before tyme hadde bene discussed and clerely determyned in generall counselles of the vnyuersall church. And when they had by longe processe vnfrutefully disputed aboute the iustificacion of fayth without good works: of baptysme, and other questyons vpon which they had written whole bokes: yet in y^e ende were they driuen to the old determinatiō of the church, saue least theyr

¹ crammed.

² Bucer.

³ propounded.

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wrytynges shoulde seme in vayne, & theyre assemblynge to be ydle, they founde out some contrariety of so slender importancye, that mē may playnlye iudge in them, other¹ inuyncible arrogance disdaynyng to be reformed, or elles obstynate malyce, sekyng for y^e nones to impugne the trewth. Concerninge the sacrament of the altare wherin rested y^e princypall matter of theyr disputation, they greatly varied and coulde by no meanes agree.

Howe be it they concluded at laste, that eche parte holdyng them contente with theyr beleife, should departe in louyng frendshyppe, without any odyous wrytinge frō thence forth one agaynst another.

¶ *N.* whether of them obtayned the vycory?

¶ *W.* They deuyded it betwene theym whyle they were presente. But sone after theyr departing, the Lutheranes ascribed it to Martyn Luther, and contrarye the Oecolampadianes vnto Oecolampadius and Swynglyus.

¶ *N.* Use they such crafty conueyaunce in promotyng theyr Gospel?

¶ *W.* ye hardely, and that without any shame when they be detected of it, inforsyng men agaynst their wylles to be fautours of theyr heresydes. Dyd not Nouiomagus gather certayne sentences out of Erasmus workes, which falsely depraued,

¹ either.

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he coupled vnto Martyn Luthers assertions, and caused them to be imprynted: blasyng abroad that Erasmus and Luther were of one opynion, to the slaunderous hynderaunce of his profytable studye? of whome after muche other detraction, he was not ashamed to craue subsedye in his beggarly indygence. Also Butzer playd a lyke pageante with Pomeran in translating his Psalter out of latyne into the Almayne tonge. For wher he aspyed any occasion to treat of the blessed Sacramente: he plucked out Pomerans sentēces, and graffed in his own after no compendyous fashyon: which as sone as they were enprynted, the fame noysed ouer all y^t Pomerane (vnknowynge to hym) was one with the Oecolampadianes, whyche afterwarde he apartely detested¹ in dyuers epystles, dyscoueryng the falsehod of Butzer. Suche subtyll dryftes I may tell you among them is daylye not vnpractised.

¶ N. Well, ye haue here rehersed many thinges agaynst them, wherein yf I and suche other wold geue credēce vnto your sayinges wythoute surmyse of percialite, we shuld sone turne oure affection from theyr learnynge. But seyng ye haue bene a fauourer of them, and peraduenture bothe spoken and wrytten as largely as the rankest of them all whome ye nowe call heretykes: fayne woulde I wyt what mocioned you

¹ openly protested to the contrary.

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to take it in hande so earnestlye, and now to shyft your selfe from it so lyghtelye.

¶ W. To shew you the truthe withoute dissimulation howe I was entyced vnto theyr faction, the verye begynnynge was this. I had redde certayn treatyses of Martyñ Luther, of the iustification onelye by fayth wythoute good deedes, how man had no free wyl, how oure good workes auayled vs nothyng to be sauēd, nother oure yll deedes shoulde cause vs to be damned,¹ and many other articles whiche he falsely presumed to ground vpon scripture. Also I dylygentlye noted howe he descrybed the abuses of Popes, Cardinales, bysshoppes, preistes, and relygious personnes, declaringe howe the present decay of the church, farre differed from the perfectyon of the Apostles and holy fathers, at the fyrst beginnyng: wherin he made no lye though in other thīges he spared the truthe. Furthermore geuyng eare to the pleasaūt rumoures of his reformations, highly cōmended amōg new fāgled people: it set myne harte so on fyre y^t I could not rest vntyll I had

¹ As this might be thought by some to be an exaggeration, it is well to give Luther's exact words. "Sacrilegium est et Impietas velle placere Deo per Opera, et non per solam Fidem." (*In Libro adv. Regem.*) "Ita vides quam dives sit Homo Christianus sive Baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare, nisi sola Incredulitas." (*de Capt. Babyl.*)

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bene there with thē. After that I had sene Martin Luther, Pomerane, Melancton, & heard theyr prechinges, perceyuyng theyr order there in Saxonye: I went into hye Almayne, vnto the Oecolampadians, & remaynyng there amonge theym, was oftentymes conuersaunt with y^e Anabaptistes. In the meane space I sawe many wonderfull alterations, as destroyenge of monasteryes, pluckyng downe of churches, castynge out of ymages, breakynge of aultars, and caryeng the consecrate stones to the buyldynge of theyr bulwarkes, also maryages of prestes, monkes, freers, nonnes, contempte of holy dayes, anullyng of vygyles, fastynge of the lent, and embryng dayes¹ clene reiecte with other laudable ordynaunces instytute by the churche. Al places of scripture where mencyon is made of Antichrist, false prophetes, maysters of lyes, & such other, they violently applyed vnto y^e clergye, namynge theym selfe chrysten bretherne, dyscyples of Christe, and apostles of hys Gospell. In denyenge purgatorye and auctorite of y^e pope, yf they founde in auntyent auctours as much as a corrupte tytle of a pystle sownynge any thyng to theyr purpose, all be it the Epystle selfe made whole agaynst it: yet wold they take it as the worde of god and sure reuelation of the spyryte. Contrarye wyse, yf anye alledged Austen, Hierome, Cypryane, or Chrysos-

¹ Ember days.

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tome agaynste them they wolde admytte theyr sentences for none auctoryte, sayenge they were men, & all men were lyers. In like maner concernynge the sacrament of the aultare, where they redde in doctours of the spyrytuall eatynge and ghostelye beynge: they onelye accepted that, and vnder the coloure therof they woulde exclude the corporall eatynge and bodelye presence of Christ, to the establysshinge of theyr blasphemous errors:¹ whiche they shadowed vnder the couerte of hypocrysye and persuasions of peruered scriptures, in suche wyse that openlye seyng I could not perceiue them, vntyll it pleased God of his inestymable goodnes to brynge me oute of the lande of darcknes and region of deth, vnto the clerenes of his knowledge and lyuyng lyght of truth.² I can not excuse me but amōg the wycked I endeuored my selfe to haue doone euyll: but God so mercyfullye preuented me, that it came to small effecte in doyng anye harme. If I haue bene occasion of any mannes fall or cause of slaunder, I am sorye for it and aske forgeuenes. Notwythstandynge I neuer defended any opinion obstinately, nether despised the admonycyon of any vertuous person: that I haue erred was through ignoraunce, and of no malicious pertynacite. Where ye be in perplexitie

¹ Does not this indicate Barlowe's own belief?

² See the Whitsun Preface in B. C. P. There is no ancient origin assignable: has it been suggested by this passage?

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of credence geuyng vnto my words, I am sure if that I spake accordynge to your appetite, ye would put no dyffydence in me whether I said the verite or lyed: for it is a playne case amonge the fauourers of these newe sectes, that they wyl refuse no forged tales makynge aught for theyr syde, be they neuer so false. And seyng ye beleued me in errour: ye oughte not to mystruste me nowe in my faythfull reuocacion, voluntarye, and not coacted.¹

¶ N. Clearly many men presuppose that other² ye be deluded by y^e flatteryng perswasyon of some worldlye persons or elles vtterly geuen into a reprobate mynde, throughe gredye desyre of yearthly promotion³ and appetyte of ydle lyuyng.

¶ W. It is not in my power to stoppe y^e wronge surmyse, or mysse reporte agaynst me, now enemy vnto theyr errorrs:⁴ whyles they abuse the same to y^e frendes of theyr heresydes: namely where as Sathan is loosed at large, and the lyenge goste the spyryte of vntrueth, walketh at lyberty vnrestreyned. Woulde God they were as prest⁵ to remoue y^e balk out of their owne eyes, as they be pröpte to aspye a lytle mote in other mens. They

¹ It is difficult to imagine a fairer, more candid, or more moderate statement than this. And it should be noticed that he disclaims any coercion.

² either.

³ It was nearly five years before Barlowe became a bishop.

⁴ Observe this declaration.

⁵ ready.

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crye oute sore vpon the worldelye wysedome and carnall prudence of other persons, callyng them tyrauntes and mynysters of Antechrist, wher as I cā perceiue none more gredy of carnall policies and fleshely ayde of tyrātes than they be. Were he neuer so cruell a creature, or myscheuous fende¹ that is tourned to theyr factions, they receaue hym for an euangelyke dysciple, his malycyous mynde nothyng mynysshed, althoughe percase his doying of mischeife is restrayned by pouertye or some other myserable impediment agaynst his wyll. And yf any body speke ought agaynst such peruerse penitentes, forth with they alege the vnpititious fiersnes² of saynt Paule before hys conuersion, the sinnes of Mary Magdalene and her penaūce,³ also y^e example of Christe receyuing publicanes and synners, and how the angelles of heauen ioye more vpon one penitēt sinner, &c. Lu. xv. I pray you what a ghostelye patrone was Hutten theyr furious chāpyon, a man not onelye ouerwhelmed wyth heresy, but also stuffed full of all vnhappynes, whose horryble ende was accordyng to hys myscheuous lyfe. For after that he had bene plagued with y^e frenche pockes, and was healed of them seuen sondrye tymes: he myserably dyed

¹ fiend.

² unpitying fierceness.

³ This shows what was generally understood by "penance" in the 16th century; not quite identical with the meaning attached to the word now. Compare Barlowe's own definition, *infra*.

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of them in an yle of Swicherlād in extreme pouerte abhorred of all people, hys vyle carcas eaten with soores, more stynkyng then anye caryon, so that vnneth any bodye myght abide the lothsome staunche of it. Moreouer I beseche you with what christen spyryt dyd Fraunces of Syckhym defend thē, a subuerter of peace, a burner of poore mennes houses, & a troubler of all Germany, vppon whom the vengeaunce of God dyd lyghte, and was sodenly slayne in a Castell besyde Crutzynacke to the infamy of hys aūceters and disheritaūce of his chyl dren. I passe ouer the captaynes of the vplandish people and theyr insurrection, partely touched before.

¶ *N.* Ye wot wel ynough that Martyn Luther dyd wryt agaynst them, condemnyng theyr sedicious enterpryse.

¶ *W.* So dyd he in dede when it was to late voyde of remedye. But as long as they were in any lyklyhod to preuayle, he rather supported thē. What heuenly wysdome dyd the monstruouse fygures sygnify, where M. Luther was portred¹ wyth a boke in his hand, & by hym Hutten his protectour in complete harnes holdyng a drawn sword, with certayn texts underneth prouokynge sedicion. And as for ydlenes, I sawe no manne more fauty in it than them selues: except ye account that for profitable busynes when they be

¹ pourtrayed.

nether ydle nor well occupied. Are there not a great infynyte number amonge them, y^t can lay sharpely to other mennes charges the cōmaūdemēt of God geuen to Adam: In swete of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread, & dylygently repete y^e labourous workyng of saynt Paule and other Disciples of Christe, which lyue delycately in ydlenes? And suppose ye y^t a man may not fynde manye of them whiche haue theyr sustentation vpon the spoyle of churches, robbery of monestaryes, and extorcion of innocent people.

¶ *N.* Though some of thē be ot suche disposicion: yet ought not ye to condemne the hole number of the good for a small somme of the euyl.

¶ *W.* Why do ye then dispise the vniuersall church, because some of them be noughte.

¶ *N.* Mary for because the more somme of the euyll, surmountethe the lesse number of the good.

¶ *W.* And thynke you that it maye not be better verefyed among the new gospellers, of y^e which the best is starke nought? Notwythstandynge some I haue knowē of excellent lyterature, which for theyr sober conuersacion and temperate lyuyng, yf they hadde bene as seryous in furtherynge the fayth as they were in settynge forth of heresyas, were worthy to be pillers of Christes church. But I ponder not so greatly the outward holynes of hypocrytes, consyderyng that Arrius, Manicheus, Pellagius, & other execrable heretykes

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euen as they be equall wyth them in heresydes, so were they not inferyours to them in suche hypocrysy. How many here in Englonde within this C.¹ yere haue ridde them selues out of this mortall lyfe, wyth a desperate death hated both to God & man, some drowninge thē selues, some cuttyng theyr owne throtes, and many hangyng themselues, whyche in theyr lyfe tyme haue ben reputed for well dysposed, vertuous, & charitable folke aboue the comon sorte of christen people, & paraduenture some here in London of our olde aquayntaunce. In whome is fulfilled the sayinge of Samuell: Man marketh those thinges that be open to the eye, but God considereth the secretnes of y^e hart,² to the verefyenge of Chrystes worde in the gossell, Luk. 17. That which is hyghly auauunced of men, is abhominable in the syghte of God. Neuerthelesse yf ye go to the vttermost: I could appoynt ye to many of the church, whiche accomplysh the perfection of liuing unfaynedly, whereof these men afore sayd haue but a barren pretēce or a dombe similitude. And as for the worst multitude of prestes, monkes, chanons, freers, and other relygious persons, I dare compare theym wyth the common sorte generally of these new factions, althoughe ye put a part theyr fayth & obedience to y^e church, which I reken no small mater.³

¶ *N.* So god help me then dare I geue the verdyt

¹ hundred. ² 1 Sam. xvi. 7. ³ This should be observed.

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without any quest, that they be starke noughte all the manye of them, And to beginne fyrst of all at the freers, ye se what a rascall¹ rable ronnethe aboute the country with bosomed sermons,¹ preachynge fables and olde wyues tales, in stede of the worde of God, whiche ar redy mates to associate vnthryftes in all myscheif, to the slaunder of christen religion. And to speke of monkes, chanons, with other religious possessioners, I praye you what a ghostly lyfe lead they? geuen holye² to slouthfull ydlenes, and belyioy,³ in eatyng and drynkinge, withoute studye of Scripture or endeuerment of any vertuose excercise. They syng in theyr quieres wyth as great deuotion, as hunters do at the halowyng of a foxe, hauyng delyte in yellyng of their voyces, and crying of organs, but no swetenes of spyrytuall melodye. Also seculer preistes⁴ euen as bad as the best, shall ye not fynde them at tauernes & dyshonest houses, drynkyng & gowsynge⁵ tyll they be as dronken as apes, nothyng abashed to swere blasphemous othes & to vse fylthye communication. And such as be curats hauing charge of mennes sowles, are there not many of thē blynder than betels, destitute of necessary doctryne with good liuing, whereby

¹ sermons from notes carried in their bosom (or pocket).

² wholly.

³ belly-joy, the pleasures of the table.

⁴ These would be secular canons, not incumbents of parishes,

⁵ guzzling.

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they myghte edyfye theyr parysshons.¹ It were to tedyous a processe to rehearse their wretchednes so farre out of order, whyche all the worlde perceyueth & speaketh agaynst it, and yet can be none amendement.

¶ W. If theyr wretchednes of lyuyng as ye say be manyfest to all the worlde: it shall not be so nedefull for you to declare anye further thereof, as it wyll be expedyente for me to tell of these newe gospellers whose erronyous wyckednes is knowen to very few here in this region. And surely to improue² the vniuersall churche as euell, because many of them be lewde: it were no lesse madnes then to sette at nought the old testamēt, because the more parte of the children of Israell were euill, other³ to dispyse the Gospell because all these newe factions which falsely presume to be folowers of it, are heretikes. Among whō ye shall fynde renegade freers that haue caste of theyr habytes, and forsaken theyr relygion, whiche haue maryed wyues, and sone after scape away from them, leauing theym in carefull⁴ desolatyon, ye some one marieng .ii. or .iii. wyues in dyuers countreys, whome they haue dysceyued by craftye entycementes, makynge them beleue with theyr gorgeous apparayle that they be cōe⁵ of noble &

¹ parishioners. So we have the vulgar "churchwardener."

² censure, disprove.

³ or.

⁴ deliberate.

⁵ come.

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riche frēdes. And of these are there manye which walk ouer sōdry prouinces, with glosinge speache and swete tales, spienge out vnstable people y^t wyll be waueryng with euery winde, and such as theyr stomackes serue them to contemne fastynges and prayers, desyrous of carnall lybertie, and can rayle agaynste the cleargy, caring for no iurisdiction, and when suche vnlawfull meanes fayl, geue themselues to thefte, robbing of churches and sedycyous dysturbaunce, whereby some of them are promoted to the galows, & shamefull marterdome of felons.

Lykewyse apostata monkes & chanons peruerted vnto theyr sectes, some bring with thē as much substaunce of the spoyle of theyr places, that they purchase therwith fayre landes & yearely rentes. Also priestes y^t haue made cheuesaūce¹ of theyr benefices for .ii. or .iii. C. poundes, at whose commyng it is a worlde to heare howe God is magnifyed for theyr delyueraunce from the tyrannye (as they call it) of Antychriste, and what brotherlye chere is made with feruēt reioyce ī y^e suffraūce of Christes crosse, namelye yf they haue store of monye. And soone after they are prouyded of fayre wyues in safegarde of theyr chastite, and to augment theyr perfection, whereby some of theym chaunce to be so vexed with deuylls, that theyr Gospell is not able to charme

¹ leases.

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them, and are fayne to runne awaye in libertye of the lorde, ere that theyr wyues be made faste in the bondes of our lady. Besyde these howe manye in Germany haue annuall pensions of cyties and townes for tearme of lyfe, bownde to no maner of seruice, whose chāge of state is to no renuyng of spiritual cōuersation, but rather an vnsacyat luste of fleshly fredome, euidētly tryed by their vycious behaeoure, ydle lyuyng, & disguysed apparell.

¶ *N.* Ye maye speake manye thynges for your pleasure, but ye knowe righte wel y^e christen relygion standeth not in outewarde rayment, nor I can not se but as good a soule maye be vnder a seculer wede, as in a relygious vesture. The straunge diuersitie of habytes is not cōmaunded of God, nother scripture ascribeth any holines vnto thē.

¶ *W.* In good fayth I speke of truth & not of pleasure. For it is to me muche displeasure to se thē suche as I se thē, not in theyr disguised cloth- ing onely, full farre vnsemelye for them, if they were eyther such as they were before, or such as they nowe call theymselfe, but ouer that in euery kynde of all dysordered lyuyng: whyche ye let passe as thoughe I had fōūden no faut but with theyr clothynge. And agaynst that ye seme to set at nought the habytes and fashions of religiouse people, callyng them straunge dyuersities & thinges

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nought worth, because they be not commaunded of god, nor that scripture ascrybeth no holynes in them. But as for strangnes of apparell, relygyouse men vse none. But theyr apparell was at the fyrst deuysed by such as they that now hate religiō, do not yet denye for holye blessed men. And now they cannot be straunge, when they contynue styll euery order his olde fashion, and that all the world hath loked vppon them, and among a thousand freers none go better appareled then an other.

But now vnto the other syde, these that runne away frō thē vnto these Lutherans, they go I say dysguysed strangelye frō that they were before, in gaye iagged cotes, and cut and scotched hosen, verye syghtly forsothe, but yet not very semelye for such folke as they were and shoulde be. And thys apparell change they dayly, from fashiō to fashion, euery day worse thē other, their new fangled foly & theyr wantō pryde neuer cōtēt nor satisfied. And where ye set at nought al straunge diuersytie of habytes, in whyche ye meane I wote well not onelye religieuse mennes apparell, but also the garmentes worne in diuine seruyce, for therein I knowe youre mynde of olde: I saye these gere¹ were well ordered by good men, & not without the good help of God. And ye can not fynde that

¹ This proves that when Latimer said, "I have done with this gear," there was no contempt in the expression.

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they be dysallowed of God, but rather approued, in as much as he in the old testament appointed vnto y^e preistes and mynysters a seuerall dystync-tion of apparayle from the common peple, specyally in theyr ministraciōs. Also it appeareth by the storye of the prophete Heliseus, whōe the chyldren of Bethel mocked and wondred vpon, y^t he was not clothed after theyr comen fashion.¹ And verely I holde it more conueniēt for relygyouse persons to were y^e habytes by theyr fore fathers institute, than to be arayed after the ruffyane inuencion, of many Gospellers in Germany.

¶ *N.* All these are but blynde reasons of your owne fantasy, nothing to the purpose. The orygynall institution of relygyous habytes began vpon certayne consyderations. As thus: when holy fathers lyued in wyldernes, they made theyr garmentes after a fashion that myghte best defend the sharpe stormes and yll wethers. And some y^t gaue themselues to bodely labour, contriued theyr clothes to be shapen in a most handsome maner to worke in. Also some of them wylling to exchew superfluytie of vesture, deuysed them habytes mooste apte for warmth & sparynge of clothe. But now these consyderatiōs faylyng: to were the habytes of them, & not to folowe theyr example, me thynketh it mere hypocrysy.

¶ *W.* Then maye I say to you agayne after the

¹ 2 Kings ii. 13, 23.

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same forme of argumentation. The fyrste inuentours of thys newe dysguysed apparel, were hethen people, vnthriftes, fooles, and myslyuyng persons: nowe ye that be accoūted good Christen people vse the same, where as ye ought not folowe theyr lewdenes, therefore ye be &c. Notwithstanding I demaūded ones¹ of a certayn cōpanion of these sectes whiche had bene of a strayt religion before, why his garmentes were nowe so sumptuouse, all to poūced with gardes and iaggess lyke a rutter of the launce knyghtes. He answered to me that he dyd it in contempt of hypocrisy. Why quoth I, doth not God hate pryde the mother of hypocrisy, as well as hypocrysye it selfe? wherto he made no dyrect answer agayne, but in excusynge hys faut, he sayde y^t God pryncypally accepted the mekenes of the hart, and inwārd christē maners, which I beleue were so inwārd in hym, that seldome he shewed any of thē outwardly.

¶ N. I graūted before that ther were some light persons. But what say you to the prouision of pore people there, suche as are aged or impotent, & that beggers be not suffred to craue at mennes dores, nor to loyter ydellye as they do here, but ar set a worke. I tell you some men thynk yf our sturdy monkes, chanons, & freers labored for theyr lyuing as we lay people do, that it wold be a meryer world thā now is.

¹ once.

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¶ *W.* What a mery tyme it wold be here in thys lande I am vncertayne, but I am sure that in Germany among these newe factions is yet but a sory worlde & lyke to be worse. ye say there be no loytryng beggers, and that is trew, for few or none resorteth thyther because they can haue none almes nor releife, excepte they wil do intollerable seruice for so slender wages, y^t yf they be not of sober dyet, and longe exercysed wyth laboure, it is not possyble for them to awaye with it. But what is theyr labour? marye pluckyng downe of churches and monasteryes, and buyldyng of bulwarkes & walles to instrēgth theyr townes agaynst them which couet to reforme them. And here is a doute to be moued, when suche busynes is ended, howe shall they be then set a worke, considerynge that in other occupacions a fewer nomber than be al readye were able to suffyse y^e people, & so they fynde it there already.

¶ *N.* God wyll prouyde otherwyse for them than mannes ymaginacion can comprehend.

¶ *W.* If their wayes lyked hym I wot wel he wold. But sythe it is no pleasure to hym to se them leue the faythe, and fall to heresyas, pull down churches, and buylde vp bulwarkes agaynst god in defence of theyr abhominable errours: I verely thynk that the wrath of God wyll worke them vengeaunce, and sende suche mēe muche

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misery, and abate theyr bulwarkes to the ground, as he abated the prowde towre of Babylon, when he confounded the buylders into as many tōges¹ as y^e deuyl hath cōfounded y^e bylders of these bulwarks in to many shameful sectes.

¶ *N.* Wel I trust better. And which of vs is begyled the ende shall shew. But this here I say that as yet hytherto, where as ye spake of theyr intollerable labour: I am certyfyed that they come from it as ioyously as it were from a recreation.

¶ *W.* I blame theym neuer a deale, though they be gladde when theyr taske is at an ende.

¶ *N.* Nay I meane when theyr hādes be full of blaynes and blysters, wyth achynge armes, theyr shulders black and blew, by reason of heuye burthens: that then they reioyce in suffer-aunce.

¶ *W.* They y^t so haue certified you, I pray you write vnto theym agayne, and praye them to certifie you also howe manye worketh wyth an euyl wyll for the onelye lacke of lyuyng, and howe many runne fro their worke & rather chuse to go steale & be hanged to, rather thē to come to so paynfull worcke agayne. And by that tyme that they haue certyfyed you of these two sortes: they shall I warrant you certifie of the thyrde tother sort that are so gladde of suche labour, not fully so many as ye rekē now. And

¹ tongues.

yet I thinke verelye that some such are there to.
And I would muche meruayle elles.

¶ *N.* Whye so?

¶ *W.* For I haue knowen ere thys where mē
haue bē¹ sore hurt in frayes, y^t they whiche haue
ben soreste wounded haue most reioyced, not in
hys harmes but in the prayings of other.

¶ *N.* Who be they y^t shulde prayse so these
labourynge folke?

¶ *W.* Euen suche of theyr owne sectes as wyl
not labour thē selues, whiche ar redier to en-
corage other mē vnto suffraunce of deth for
theyr opinions, than to ieoparde them selfe the
lest tpye of their eare. But now to your obiec-
tion, that ye wuld prestes monkes and freers
shulde laboure as other temporall men do: I
holde it expediente that many of them shulde be
better occupied than they are. Howe beit I haue
hard in Germanye greuous complayntes & mur-
murations of hande crafty mē and artyfycers
agaynste relygyous persons, whyche haue made
themselves worldly, and learned their occupations.
For through theyr augmentation, the profytable
gaynes of occupations was mynysshed, and the
welth of theyr lyuynge decayde, so that many
were compelled to seeke aduentures in straunge
prouinces for defaute of worke at home. Also
I haue knowen in the citie of Colen,² & in other

¹ ben = been.

² Cologne.

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places of the low countrey, that religious personnes in theyr cloysters fyndyng thē selues with labour of theyr hādes, as spynnyng, weyuyng, & makynge of linnen cloth, haue bene haynously cōplayned vpō to the lordes and rulers, y^t thei toke away the auauntage and lyuyng from the pore comons & citezens: wherfore they haue bene restrayned from takynge of temporall peoples worke.

¶ *N.* By this rekeninge, seldome is a chaūge for y^e better. But yet howe saye ye to theyr prouysyon for poore impotent people?

¶ *W.* After my mynde they neuer went about an acte that pretended a more Godly purpose, or a feruenter zeale of charytable cōpassion, whiche ordinance if it had a progresse of continuance, as it had a lykelyhode at the begynnynge: were to be alowed and practysed of all Chrysten nations.

But euery occasion wysely pondered with due circumstaūces, it wyll make those y^t be sage to stay at it, & other like matters, takyng auysement¹ before, least thei enterprise further thē thei be able to bryng vnto a lawdable ende. It is y^e very properte of comō people, namely of these Almaynes, that whatso euer they be perswaded vnto, agreable to theyr affections, they shal be ready in a sodeyn gyere to accomplysh: regardyng

¹ advice.

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nother daunger, nor commodite, though sone after they repent theym. And lyke as the people of Israhell brought the iewelles of theyr wyues & chyltern to the makynge of the golden calfe¹: so dyd they brynge their iewelles, beades, rynges, outches, with mony both gold and syluer, to the common hutches so haboundantly for this prouision, y^t men doubted in some place, whether they had poore folke sufficiente to consume so excedynge heapes of ryches.

But this dout was sone made a playn case: for within a whyle after, the ardente heat of theyr lyberall deuocion waxed cold. And because they contynued not styll in bryngynge in theyr oblations: the hutches and coffers were emptye ere men wyst it. Then whyles it was compassed what waye myghte be beste taken for the preseruation of this ordynaunce, leaste it shuld decaye, to theyr confusyon that began it: some gaue counsell that it shoulde be necessarye to depryue the clergy of theyr goodes, and to dystribute theyr possessions, landes, and rentes among lay people. And to throwe downe all monasteries & churches, makynge coyne of crosses, chalesses, and other sacred iewels, for y^e sustetation of the poore as they alleged. This aduyse with hole assent of certayne prynces and comonteys² was approued, affyrmyng that yf so infynyte ryches

¹ Exod. xxxii. 2, 3, 4.

² communities.

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were ones in theyr handes, the reuenewes of greate men shuld be so enlarged, that they shoulde nede to rayse no taxes nor lones of the commons, but rather cease frome all importable¹ exactions.

In lyke maner by the same polycy the comons mighte grow vnto such welthye substaunce: that beggers and nedy people fewe or none shoulde be founde among them, whiche ought to be called a golden worlde, or a tyme of felicitie.²

¶ *N.* And cam it not so to passe in conclusion?

¶ *W.* No, nor neuer shall I make you assurance, for the goodes ar wasted, & no mā can tell howe: ye at this houre the prynces and lordes of y^e cytyes are more hungry to pyll & pole,³ then euer they were. The commons also in lesse welth, enduryng more greuous oppression then euer they dyd, wyth no fewer myserable persons then they had before, all thynges ar out of measure scarce, eche complaynyng to other of theyr calamities infortunate withoute remedy of redresse or hope of a better chaunge.

¶ *N.* Our lorde forbyd y^t it shuld chaunce so here.

¶ *W.* yet lacke there not in England that

¹ oppressive.

² This was advanced also in England; believed and acted on; with very similar results, notwithstanding the warning given here.

³ pillage and levy poll-taxes.

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wyshe ful hartely after suche a ruffelyng chaunge, the more parte suche as hope to wyn, and haue nothyng to lese,¹ and yet some so mad that haue of theyr owne, and whyche happely² myght repent it fyrst of all. I let passe my lord cardinals³ acte in pullynge down & suppressig of religious places, our lord assoile his soule. I wyll wrestle with no soules: he knoweth by this tyme whyther he dyd well or euyll. But thys dare I be bolde to saye, that the countreis where they stode, fynde suche lacke of them: that they would he had let them stand. And thinke you then that there wold be no lack founden, if y^e remanaunt were so serued to? I wene men wold so sore mysse theym that many which speke agaynst thē, wolde sone laboure his owne handes to set them vp agayne.

¶ *N.* In good fayth youre wordes make me so amased, that I can not tell what I may say to the matter: I se the lyuyng of the cleargy is farre wyde from the doctrine of christ, & example of the apostles, & the Lutherans by your saying be inworse case, both destitute of catholik fayth & good christen maners, wythout anye better lykelyhode excepte by the meanes of a generall reformation.

¹ lose.

² haply.

³ Cardinal Wolsey. In 1528 the Cardinal suppressed Brome-hill, of which Barlowe was Prior, and some others, to found his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.

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¶ *W.* Who shoulde be the auctours of this reformation?

¶ *N.* The pope & other christen princes.

¶ *W.* I put case that manye of them be as wyde oute of the ryghte waye as the other.

¶ *N.* That can ye tell partely concernyng thys Popes holynesse,¹ for ye were latelye at Rome.

¶ *W.* In very dede I heard pyteously of it by other mens reporte, but I sawe it not: & peradventure I sawe the lesse, because I taryed so lytell whyle there.

Notwithstanding it fortunéd me to talke with an Italyan, and in oure communication I spake as I had harde, that the pope and the emperour entended a reformation.

Why sayde he they haue begonne already.

I asked him where.

Se ye not quod he that they haue destroyed Lombardye, Italye, Naples, & also enpouered² Fraūce, to the ruynous decay of christédome?

Beware sayde I what ye speake.

Yes quod he, for I meane no dyshonoure to theyr hyghnes, for they perfourme the wyll and commaundement of God, as they of Syrya, and Babyllone dyd, in destroying y^e euyll chyl dren of Israhell, to thintent the good myght prospere in theyr places.

Mary, q'd I, that is clene contrary here, for

¹ Clement VII., 1523-1534.

² impoverished.

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the good be destroyed, and the euyl are encreased, so that neuer in Italye were seene so manye vagaboundes, theues, hores, and harlottes, as are in this present tyme.

Well sayde he, yf the good be rather destroyed, as ye allege, and the euyl are styll reserued: it is a token that they haue escaped wyth an easy scorge, the dredeful vengeance of God, which remayneth for these y^t be left behynd. Howebeit, ye rede in stories of the byble, that the sinfull world was fyrst destroyed¹ before that ryghteous Noe was possessioner of the frutfull yerth, blessed of God, and the abomynable cities of Sodom and Gomor vterly subuerted,² ere vertuous Loth ascended the mounte of hys refuge. Also the reprobate people of Israhell were wholly extincte,³ ere euer theyr elect chyldren entred the lande or promis. Wherefore construe ye as ye please, I feare me that the reformation of the worlde shall be wyth the sword of vengeance vppon the people for theyr iniquitie, consydering y^e obduratiō of their hartes, and harde necked stubburnes, not moued at the wōderful tokens whyche dayly pronosticate the wrathe of God to be at hande.

With this he shranke awaye, & woulde tarye no longer.

¶ *N.* Peraduenture he was afrayd to wade

¹ Gen. vii. 21.

² Gen. xix. 29, 30.

³ Deut. i. 35-39.

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further in the truthe. But beleue me yf ye wyl, wher he spake of the destroyinge of euyll people : I wene yf Lutheranes be such as ye make them it were the redyeste waye for a reformation to kyll vp theym quyte.

¶ *W.* I woulde rather wyssh them amended, if it may be.¹ And as for kyllynge theym in some place, it were no greate maistry. But thē in some other places where wold ye fynd the people to do the execution ?

¶ *N.* We shulde lacke none in Englande I warrante you, for there be manye of the cleargye that woulde be full glad of it, & marchauntes some, thoughe many be on theyr syde. Also ye myght haue a great sort of the cōmons, and manye courtyers, though some of euery sorte fauoure Luthers wayes & some great mennes seruaūtes beare men in hande that theyr souereins support such matters specially in tauerns, marchaunts howses, & other places, where they make thē selues no small fooles, when wyse mē be forth a dores.²

¶ *W.* ye vnderstande not what ye saye.

¶ *N.* Howe so ?

¶ *W.* For yf we wyl putte awaye all Lutheranes and all suche open heresyas, we muste fyrste

¹ This artless remark betrays the character of our author better than any elaborate disclaimer of persecution.

² out of doors.

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putte awaye many other synnes, whiche haue broughte those heresyas in.¹ For trow ye that heresyas the moost terryble plage of God, commeth not through synne of the peple, prouokynge his yre and indignation, whereby he sendeth amonge them false prophetes, & erronious teachers, preaching matters accordynge to theyr waywarde appetytes.²

¶ *N.* yet prestes and clarkes are the bryngers vp of heresyas, and the cheif mayntainers of them, by occasyon of Popes, Cardynalles, byshops, and other prelates of the cleargye.

¶ *W.* I wyll neyther excuse nor accuse neither them nor other. But I feare me y^t as for other synnes the cleargy and the lay to, shall not nede to striue therefore, but maye well agree together, and parte the stake betwene them. And as for heresyas, thoughe some of the cleargy commenly begyn them: yet yf we loke on olde cronycles, wyth experiēce of our own tyme, we shall well fynde that there hath not lacked some great temporal prynces, nor a great nōber of lewde laye people, to set them forth, & support them. Was not the origynall grounde and cause of M. Luthers heresy, to do pleasure to hys Prynce, and to purchase fauour amonge the people. In lyke maner, Oecolampadius, zwynglius, Pharellus, and other

¹ This is well observed ; and cuts at the root of the matter.

² This sentence appears to be interrogative.

mo folowed the same trace. When princes & comonties ar first bent vpō affectiō agaynst y^e church, or conceyue any straūge purpose cōtrary to Scrypture: then immediately they fynde at hand suche lerned persons that can endeuoure theyr braynes¹ in approuynge theyr lustes, makynge y^t whiche is vnlawefull, lawfull, which say that good is euell, & euell is good, callynge lyghte darcknes, and darknes lyght.²

¶ *N.* We shal finde thē among whiche prech suche thinges as ye cal heresye for no such cause, but preache it boldelye before great audience, where they for theyr preachyng be brought in great daūger.

¶ *W.* Though they do fall in harme, yet haue they hope to wyne theyr fauour, or els why are they so desyrous to haue so many ley mē present at their examinatiōs?

¶ *N.* They make of it a reasonable cause for .ii. cōsideratiōs. One is to thintent they might not be wrongefullye oppressed in corners: another is, because they would that people shulde bear witnes of their constancy in confessyng the trouthe for Christes sake.

¶ *W.* These cōsyderations in theym, yf they were true as thei be false: were yet of small efficacite, & against the euangelike perfection. As touchynge the fyrste, God promyseth yf hys seruauntes

¹ cudgel their brains.

² Isa. v. 20.

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be wronged pryuelye, he wyll reuenge them opely.¹ And Christ in the gospell exhortynge vs to suffraunce, byddeth his discyples to be ioyful in persecution, saying y^t happy are ye when ye are belyed, euyll spoken vpon, and extremelye dealte withall for my names sake.² The other appeareth to be an excuse of vaynglory, couetyng wordly prayse, where as they perceiue that people fauourynge theyr parte wyll interprete to theyr commendation, what so euer they say, though it be agaynste scripture, cōtrary to all verite.

Saynte Peter wylleth vs to geue accounte of oure fayth to euery bodye, and that myldely with all lowlynes.³ We haue no president of the appostles,⁴ that euer they disdained to answer before the infidele iudges, tyll the vulgar multitude were by them, or that they requyred assystence of greate men to be recordes of theyr wordes. Wherefore I meruel what conscience these persons haue, whiche are so importune to be examined in presence of rude seculers, & ignoraunt people, when they answer so doubtfully, that the beste learned can not well construe theyr meanynge. And in Pryncypall articles, wherevpon dependeth our saluacion or dampnation: some answer so nakedly with blynd shyftes, that they be able to brynge vnlearned people into erreure of things, wherof

¹ S. Luke xviii. 7, 8.

² S. Matt. v. 11.

³ 1 S. Peter iii. 15.

⁴ precedent from the Apostles.

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they neuer doubted before, vsynge euer ouerthwart speche,¹ and quaylynge sentences of double vnderstandynge, wyth protestations of hypocrysye after thys fashion: In good fayth I thynke there is a purgatorye, albeit I can not tell whether I may beleue it or no. I suppose that confessyon made to a preiste, and pylgrymages maye be well done, but I fynde them not in Scripture: I beleue in these words of christ, this is my bodye, but as concernyng his bodely presence in forme of breade, to saye any thinge it is aboue my capacitie, and I dare not meddle with so dyffuse maters. I rekē that I may beleue y^e doctours of the church, yf they speak not agaynste the worde of god, &c. To vse such ābages² in weyghtye causes, & to put in question a fresshe the cases defyned by generall counsels, as thoughe we were vncertayne of our beleif, & new to begyn agayne: I repute it no spyryte of truthe, sekyng goddes honoure and edification of theyr neighbour. Nor I dout not but at the day of iudgement, they shal make a more seryous aunswere. This consideraciō is also as I haue sayde very playnlye false. For whē these sly shyftes fayle thē: they shew no constancy of their vnfaythfull doctryne, but falsely forswere them self and saye they neuer sayde so, the hole audience detesting³ theyr periury all saue

¹ speaking at cross purposes.

² ambiguities.

³ abhorring.

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onely theyr owne sect, whiche as for periury pardon eche other. To speke of manyfest mysliuers, and open transgressours, whom may we well exempte? consyderynge howe prone and redy y^e hole world is from the moste to the leaste, to declyne and fall vnto euyl.

Our faythe whiche God hathe geuen vs to buylde good workes vppon, is waxen barrayne and fruteles. Charite likewise, wherin we shuld be tryed to be the very disciples of Christe, is waxed cold through the excesse of iniquite. Amiable concorde with christen vnite, whervpon all vertue fasteneth her foundation, is fallen in ruyne, to the fre entresse of hatefull discenciō & lyberte of al vyces. In euery state and degre, y^e one barketh at the other, one obieteth agaynste another his faultes, eche of them facynge other to be causes of theyr myseries, & yet neuer a one fashioneth him selfe towarde any amendment for hys owne parte.

¶ *N.* By my trouthe I deme the people would be good ynough, if they had good heades.

¶ *W.* I deny not y^t verely, but the better that the heades be, the better were the body lyke to be, and y^e euyl y^t is in euyl heades descendeth down into euery part, and maketh all the bodye the worse. And yet surely, if y^e people be euyl: the synne of them causeth God sometyme to send them heades of the same sute, both popes, emperoures, kynges, cardynalles, bysshoppes, preistes,

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and curates. For it is the synne of the people as Iob testifieth, that causeth God to suffer hypocrites sometyme to raygne ouer them.¹ Hypocrites he calleth them that represente the personages of these estates, whose partes they do playe for a countenaunce, and do the contrarye in dede. And as far as I haue redde in the byble, all the while the people of Israell were good, obeying goddes lawes, and sought his honour: God gaue them gracious gouernoures, vertuous priestes, and trewe Prophets. But as sone as they swarued & fel vnto ydolatry: he sent thē for theyr punyshmente vngracious princes, vycyous prelates, and false prophetes, so that no difference was betwene the people, & the prestes, nor y^e people could not ymagyn so outragious abominations, but princes and prestes bothe were redy to fortelye them in theyr vn-happynes.

¶ *N.* yet yf ye remember well the storyes of the byble, ye shall fynde y^t the trāsgressiō of goddes lawes amōge the people, redounded fyrst frō y^e heades, by theyr pernicious occasion. And as towchyng false prophetes and yll prestes: God him selfe greuously complayneth vpon them, shewing how the people are seduced by them, to the pollutyng of hys name, and violation of his lawes. Whose enmious wickednes, Ezechiell,

¹ Job xxxiv. 26-30.

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Hieremye, with diuers other prophets, declare at length. Dyd not the Belial preistes, Ophni & Phines, by theyr pestylent example, and lecherours lyuyng, corrupt manye one, vpon whome God takynge vengeaunce, they loste theyr lyues in battayl, and the arke of God, wherof they had the cure, takē by the Philisteis, .xxx. thousande fyghtyng men of the Israhelyte people were slayne in one daye.¹ Likewise y^e chyldren of Samuell whiche were iudges of y^e people, not ensuyng theyr fathers steppes, but set vpon couetousnes, toke rewardes, and peruerted iugemente, by whose occasyon the people were moued to aske a kynge vnto theyr desolation.²

Moreouer the storye of kynge Saule is playn, for whose pryuate disobedience, y^e hole lande of Israell smarted full sore.³

Kyng Daudid thoughe he was a blessed mā, yet brought vnto folye for to nomber his people, they were fayne to suffer most wofull plages for his offence.⁴

Manye other lyke places I could gather out of y^e olde testament, were it not to eschew tediousnes, speciallye of Hieroboam, whom y^e scripture testyfyeth expresly, that he caused y^e people of Israell to synne.⁵ Be syde all this, go to the very

¹ 1 Sam. ii. 12, 22; and iv. 10, 11.

² 1 Sam. viii. 3, 6.

³ 1 Sam xiii. 9; and xv. 9, etc.

⁴ 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, 15.

⁵ 1 Kings xiv. 16, etc.

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experyence, & ye shall fynde that wheresoeuer the heade or gouernour of an howse is good, the hole howsholde comenlye shall be good also. And contrary wyse, yf they be badde, the other shall be as euyll, so that I may conclude in verefyenge myne opynion, that the yll conuersation of subiectes procedeth oute of y^e euyll example of theyr heades.

¶ *W.* To begyn where as ye leaue. I graunte y^t the vertuous exāple of y^e head auayleth much to the good order of the members, & the greater that the auctoritie is, the more strength it hath in example, eyther to profyte or to noy,¹ consyderynge that among pryuate persons, the goodnesse of some one, enduceth many other to vertue, & contrary the lewdnes of another, bryngeth manye to vyce & vngraciousnes. But yet cā not ye cōclude vpon this, that y^e euylnes of the people cometh first by the example of the heades, but rather as I haue spoken before, because y^t the people be euyll thē selues, therfore God sendeth them according, yl heades, & gouernours. For ye must consyder that god hath not made the people for y^e sensuall pleasure of Prynces, gouernours, or prelates, but hath ordeyned them to y^e weal and commodite of the people.² Ye haue in Exodus the thyrde chapter, that when the people

¹ produce bad effects.

² A remarkable statement, considering the period.

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of Israhell were in miserable thraldome vnder kyng Pharo: they cryed to god for remedye, and God prouyded them Moyses to be theyr deliuerer, to whome in gyuing his offyce he sayde: The clamoure of the chyldren of Israel is come vnto me, and I haue sene theyr afflictions, how they are oppressed of the Egyptians: therfore approche, and I shall sende the to deliuer my people¹ ye god loued the people so entyerly, that of theym he chose Bysshoppes, preistes, and deacons,² to offer speciall sacrifices for the clen-synge of theyr synnes, and to be as meanes betwene hym & thē. Note of whom also Moyses toke the noble & wyse men, & made of thē princes, captains and gouernours, for theyr polytyke conseruation. Agreeable to this, the stories of Iudicum³ make mencion, that the people of Israell, longe season after Iosues death obseruyng goddes lawes, and fulfyllinge hys commaundementes prospered in peace, and hadde gracious gouernours. But whē they fel to synne & ydolatry: God gaue them into subiection of

¹ A colon seems necessary here ; a comma appears after ye (yea), misplaced.

² Observe the terms used here ; very correspondent to those in S. Clement Roman : Ep. i. 40, 42, 43, 44, and perhaps suggested by them. The assignment of Christian titles to the Jewish officials proves that our author assumed a certain amount of identity between them, and therefore believed in the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist.

³ Judges.

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theyr enemyes, and were compelled whether they wolde or not, to serue hethen prynces, and miscreaunt idolaters, yet notwithstandinge, in middes of theyr myseryes, where as with a repentaūt hart they cried to god for socour, and besoughte hym of mercy: he raysed vp among thē selues certayne captaynes at sondry times, as Othoniel, Ayoth,¹ Gedeō, Sampson, and diuers other, whyche delyuered them from all bondage, restoryng thē agayne to theyr libertie. And where as ye allege the chyldren of Helye to have bene cause of the takynge of the arke and slawghter of the people: I beleue verely that y^e people were thē mischeuously mynded, as they be nowe a dayes, whiche perceyuyng y^t the .ii. preistes y^t bare y^e arke wherby they hoped of victory, were slayne: they surmysed that the vengeaūce for the priestes synnes was cause whye the arke was takē, and so moche people destroyed, & under this blynde audacitie, they remayned styll impenitent, not acknowleging to God theyr owne offences & ydolatry: whiche appeareth by the retorne agayn of the arke, where aboue the number of .i. thousande persons were plaged with sodeyne deth.² Also, it maye be verefyed by y^e wordes of Samuell, exhortyng the peple to retourne vnto god with harte vnfayned, and to caste oute all straunge Goddes, preparyng theyr hartes to y^e seruyce of

¹ Othniel, Ehud, etc.

² 1 Sam. vi. 19.

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god onelye. For when they hadde fasted, and done penance, not imputing the fawt to other but thē selfs, saying all we good lorde haue synned agaynst the: god deliuered thē from theyr ennemies.¹ In lyke maner, y^e misorder of Samuels sonnes, was not so greatly the occasion whye the people were moued to aske a kynge for to raygn ouer them, as was their owne diffidence toward gods prouision, obstynate disobedience, and vnquyete appetyte of ydolatrie, couetyng to be lyke other heathen nations: which is to be perceiued by the answere of god vnto Samuell thus saying:² Heare y^e peoples voyce in all thynges that they speke vnto the, they haue not cast the of, but me, least I shuld reygne ouer thē. They do euē accordyng to all theyr workes whyche they dyd in the daye y^t I brought them out of Egypt hytherto. As they haue forsaken me, & serued false Goddes, thus do they also to the. When Samuell hadde shewed vnto theym the dyspleasure of God, wyth the manyfolde myseries and calamities whiche they shoulde suffer by the chaunge: yet woulde they not here hym, but sayd, that nedes they wold haue a kynge ouer them, as other people had. Furthermore ye affyrme y^t the people of Israell were punyshed for the disobedient transgression of kynge Saule. But all thinges consydered it

¹ 1 Sam. vii. 3, 6, 10.

² 1 Sam. viii. 7, 8.

is to be thoughte rather that their wyful forwardnes agaynst God was partely occasion of his fall, to thentent the sentence of God spoken by y^e prophet myghte be verefied. For yf he had bene an vpryght prynce, & had obserued goddes commaundement: they shulde haue bene in such felycitie that they would haue iudged theyr petition lawefull in demaunding a kyng contrary to goddes pleasure. And I doubt not but god gaue them a kynge of disposition lyke to theyr demeanoure, so y^t when he transgressed gods precepte in dede, they dyd the same, at the last¹ in wyl & consent, wherby they deserued to be punysshed wyth hym. For God neuer taketh vēgeaunce vpon anye people but onely for theyre synne, whyche after dyuers admonyciōs whyles they wyll not amende, euē as he gyueth to the good people gracyous heades and prynces, furtheryng them in his fauour to theyr cōfort: so sendeth he to the euyll wycked heades & rulers, prouoking his wrath to theyr desolaciō. And no meruell, thoughe Saull fared the worse for hys people, wher as Moyses the most faythfull seruaunte of god was partely by their frowardnes debarred frō the pleasaunt lande of behest.² As for kyng dauid, it is playn that god dyspleased wyth the chyldern of Israhell for theyr synne: permytted Sathā to incyte hym for to nōber hys

¹ at least.

² Numb. xx. 8, 10, 12.

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people, wherfore they were bothe punysshed.¹ And though scrypture expressely saythe that Hieroboã caused y^e peple to synne: yet were thei as much fauty as he, saue y^t because they cōmytted theyre ydolatry vnder his supportacyon, he bare y^e name as pryncypall auctor: as we se y^e captayns of hostes in warre tyme, thoughe some of them do sometyme as lytell or lesse, thā many a poore souldyer in hys armye, whose acte is nothyng spoken of, yet all the fame and honour of the vycory redowndeth euer vnto them, whych is apartely proued by the oracyō of King Abya, Roboams sone, laynge to the people charge that they forsoke god & made them goldē calues, expulsyng the prestes and deakons of goddes ordynaunce, and instytutyng other after the order of hethē ydolaters.² Wherto agreeth in defence of mine opinion, the generall confessyon of the people with theyr vnyuersall submissiō in knowledge of theyr trespaces, recited in sondry places of scripture after thys forme: we have synned with our forefathers, we haue done wickedly, & haue cōmitted iniquite, all we haue transgressed thy commaundementes. And surelye as the worlde is nowē crokedlye enclyned to malyce: yf

¹ 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 ; 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

² 2 Chron. xiii. 8, 9. Notice "deacons" = Levites. Hooker (iii. 1) makes this same quotation, with the same object. May it have been suggested by this passage?

God sent heades and Prynces accordyng to the deuelyshe appetites of much people, y^e welth of this region wold be sone subuerted, & euery state brought to confusion, albeit they other wyse coloure it, and make as though they ment none harme but rather much deuotion, & y^t the vnlearned would haue the Scripture in theyr handes, for none other cause but onely to preache secretly to them self for lacke of good preachers abroad. But then in dede it appereth that they preach to thē selfe and theyr neyghbours to, many an horryble heresye, and abuse the scripture to the colorable defence of the same. And then are they also to,¹ all Tyndals bokes, whiche for the manyfolde mortall heresydes conteyned within the same, openlye condempned and forbyddē, they are I saye yet vnto those bokes so sore affectionate, that neyther the condempnation of them by the clergy, nor the forbydding of them by the kinges hyghnes, with his open proclamations vpon greate paynes, nor the daūger of open shame, nor parell of paynfull deth, can cast thē out of some fond folkes handes, and that folke of euery sorte. Howe thynke ye then these folke wold haue bene stomaked, & how many mo wold haue blustred, out with them, yf the mayntenaūce of the prynces and the states of y^e realme (whych our lorde defende) had bene vppon theyre syde. And where

¹ The comma should be expunged.

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about wolde they then haue gone? aboute no great good ye maye be sure. Se ye not the vyllayne beggers and valyaūt vagaboundes, whom god plageth with pouerte, and myserye for theyr abomynable lyuyng, dysposed to no goodnes, howe hartely they wysshe for a ruffelynge daye. Beholde euery state all moste in euery chrystē realme, as husband mē, artyfycers, marchaunts, courtyers, with all other degrees as well spyrituall as temporal, & I fere me that ye shall saye, but if god of his goodnes amēde vs the soner, there shall come to passe amonge vs the ferefull iugemēt of god spoken by the prophete Osee,¹ to the people of Israhell and inhabyters of the lande: There is no truthe, no mercye, nor scyence of god in the yerth. Cursynge & lyenge, manslaughter, theft, and aduowtrye hathe ouer flowen, & bloode hathe towched bloode: for the which the yerth shall wayle, and euery inhabyter in it shall be feebled. And this as I haue sayed not one contrey fawty, & a nother fawtles, one estate fowle and deformed and another pure & clene, the spyrytualtie synful, and the temporaltie set all on vertue, the heades & rulers culpable, & the people oute of blame, nor y^t any estate maye laye the hole weight of Goddes wrath vnto the other, and therof discharge them selfe, but eche of theym is cause both of theyr own harme and

¹ Hosea iv. 1, 2, 3.

other folkes to. And the people are nothyngel
lesse fawtye, prouokyng the wrathe of God, than
theyr heades or gouernours, nor one state par-
tyculerlye cause of anothers calamytie. But all
we together haue synned, & haue deserued the
vengeaunce of God, whiche hangeth before our
eyes, redy to fall ere we be aware.

¶ *N.* In this poynt ye haue ryghte well satis-
fied my mynde: but what remedye now of recon-
ciliacion agayne to God?

¶ *W.* Forsoothe I knowe none but onely penaunce, I saye not repentyng onely as Luther and Tyndall, and these new folkes call it, whiche wolde begyle vs & make vs wene that we nede no more but onely repente, and do no penaunce at all, tellynge vs that Christes passion shall stand in stede of al our penaunce, though we do neuer so euyl, and lyue neuer so longe.¹ With this false doctryne they dryue many a soule to the deuyll, makynge theym neglygente, and take lyttell care or sorowe for theyr synne, and so muche the more rechelesse in fallynge to synne agayne.² But I speake of pennaunce, as it implieth both repētaunce of our synnes past, & y^e sacrament of penaunce, wyth care & sorow and bodely payn, & afflyccyon taken for our syn, wyth

¹ See Note, p. 70, above.

² See Article xvii.; some of the wording there seems derived from this passage.

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prayer, almouse, & other good workes to per-
chase the more grace, & y^t we shuld with recourse
to confessyon & the sacrament of penaūce, dyl-
gently prepare our selues in folowing the exāple
of the Nyniuytes: whyche at the preachynge of
the prophete Ionas, repented wyth earnest purpose
of amendinge theyr lyues, and dyd penaunce in
deede, in fastynge and prayer, humblynge theyre
sowles frome the moste to the least vnto the
mercy of god.¹

¶ *N.* wolde our lorde that we had such a pro-
phete sent amōg vs, to exhorte vs vnto penaūce
as the prophete Ionas was to theym.

¶ *W.* That were lyke to the request of the
ryche gluttonne in hell, of whom the gospel tell-
eth, which desyred that Lazare myghte be sente
to warne hys brethern: to whom it was answered,
that hauynge Moyses & the prophetes, they shuld
gyue credence to theym.² wherfore seyng that
we haue holy scrypture which expresseth the
rightwysnes of god, declaring howe our forefathers
were punysshed for theyr synnes: yf we refuse
to be warned by theyre admonycyon, truely we
wolde be as neglygent to amende, yf Ionas raysed
frō death to lyfe shulde preache vnto vs. For
we haue saynt Iohn baptist a greater prophete³
than Ionas was, cryēg to al sinners:⁴ Do ye worthy

¹ See the address in the Commination Service.

² S. Luke xvi. 31.

³ *sic.*

⁴ S. Matt. iii. 8.

frutes of penaunce: of whom Christ wytnesseth that there is none greater than he amonge the chyldrē of womē.¹ Also oure saueour Christ hym self, of whom saynt Ioh̄n testyfyed that he was vnworthy to lose his shoe latchet: preached penaunce sayinge: Do ye pennaunce, the kyngedome of heauen is at hande.² And in another place of the Gospell, he sayth: yf ye do not penaunce ye shall all peryshe.³ And Saynte Peter his vycar here in earth, vpon whom, and whose faythfull confession, he promysed to bylde his churche: preached likewyse in his fyrste Sermone sayinge: Do ye penaūce, and be conuerted to God, that youre synnes maye be done awaye.⁴

Also saynt Paule the chosē vessell of God, preached fyrste of al to them of Damasco, that they shuld be penitent and turne to god, performinge the due workes of penaunce.⁵ Cōfyrmyng the same, when Christ appered vnto the .ii. disciples iorneinge to Emaus: he sayd y^t after his death and resurrection, it behoued penaunce to be preached in his name, and remission of sinnes:⁶ for why the cause of his comynge was not to call ryghteous folk, but sinners vnto penaunce.⁷ And the aungelles of heauen reioyced

¹ S. Matt. xi. 11.

² S. Matt. iv. 17.

³ S. Luke xiii. 3.

⁴ Acts ii. 38. Notice the expression S. Peter, Christ's Vicar, etc.

⁵ Barlowe seems here to read Acts xiii. 38 into Acts ix. 20.

⁶ S. Luke xxiv. 47.

⁷ S. Matt. ix. 13.

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not so greatly in nynty & nyne iuste persons, as vpon one synner doying penaūce.¹ As concernyng the olde testamente, God himselfe promyseth in dyuers places, that a synner shall be forgyuen hys synnes, whensoever he wyl do penaūce. Wherefore seīg we haue so euident exhortatiōs of scripture mouyng vs to penaunce, and manyfolde warnynges to correct our lyues through the the² pacyent suffraunce of god: happy are we yet, if now at last ere that it be to late, we coulde faythfully saye wyth Iob perfourming y^e dede: lord we have hard y^e wyth our eares, & therefore we reprehēd our selfs & do penaūce.³

¶ *N.* yet wote I not well what ye call penaunce.

¶ *W.* I haue ones told you, & yet I tell you agayn, I call penaūce⁴ a chaūge of our lyfe in castyng of y^e synfull old man with his dedes, and doynge on a new man of vertuous conuersacyon, whiche by fayth, hope, and charyte, and the good workes y^t come of them, as prayer, almouse, sorow for his synne, and payne gladly taken and susteyned for the same, is renewed in to the knowledge & fauoure of god, accordyng to his ymage that made him.

¹ S. Luke xv. 7.

² *Sic*, through imperfect correction of press in orig.

³ Job xlii. 5, 6.

⁴ Barlowe's definition of Penance precludes the application of the ordinary Protestant captious objections to its use in the above passages of Scripture.

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¶ *N.* how shuld laye mē come to this knowlege when y^e gospell is lockyd fro them.

¶ *W.* The gospell of Christe whiche is goddes worde, is free, and can not be boūde nor kepte frō any Christen man.

¶ *N.* By saynt Marye for all that laye people maye not be suffred to haue the newe testament in englysshe, whyche I call the gospell.

¶ *W.* O ye meane Tyndals Gospell.

¶ *N.* In dede though Tyndall was the trāslation, it is the worde of God and the verye same testament whyche ye haue in latyn of the euan-gelystes puttynge forth.

¶ *W.* yet lerned mē and good men haue founden suche fawtes in his corrupt translation: that it is for the same well and lawfully forbidden.

¶ *N.* if they be good men as ye saye y^t haue founde it fauty: I should reken thē better a great deale, which wold amend it.

¶ *W.* Though it were amended, & sufficiently corrected: yet wyll I not saye y^t it is expediente for laye people to haue it, considering the time as it is nowe.

¶ *N.* Whye, ye sayd y^t the gospell maye not be kept frō christē men.

¶ *W.* No more it maye, thoughe it be restrayned from the laye people in theyr vulgare tonge. For y^e worde of God, whiche is the worde of fayth, as Scripture sayth, is nere the in thy

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mouth & in thy harte, to thintent thou mayste do it.¹

¶ *N.* Than I pray you where saynte Paule sayth that fayth cometh by herynge, and herynge cometh by the worde of God : ² how can we haue it without preachyng or information of it, by readyng of scrypture.

¶ *W.* Outwarde preaching, and lyterall redyng of scripture, are necessary meanes to attayne vnto the knowlege of the spyrite.

¶ *N.* Wherefore then is the Gospell wythholden from the laye people ?

¶ *W.* I sayd they be two thynges necessarye, but I sayde not that both twayne be to euerye man necessary. But it is necessarye that euery man haue the tone or the tother, and so haue they : for they haue the worde of God preched & expounded vnto them.

¶ *N.* ye as y^e preistes lyste with false gloses.

¶ *W.* Wyth the same gloses that the olde holy doctours & sayntes haue made, other maner of mē thā Luther & Tyndale, which now corrupt the trewth wyth theyr false gloses.

¶ *N.* But why should not y^e comē people haue the scrypture them self in theyr own mother tong ?

¶ *W.* Because of theyr abuse & makyng of theyr owne gloses, & many also for theyr

¹ Deut. xxx. 14 ; Rom. x. 8.

² Rom. x. 17.

vnworthynes, accordynge to Christes cōmaundement forbiddynge to cast perles before swyne, or to gyue holy thynges to dogges.¹ Dyd not saynt Paul forbidde women to speake the worde of god in congregacyons,² for the auoydyng of abuse and disorder? Also dyd not he and Barnabas forsake preaching to the iewes, because of theyr vnworthynes?³

¶ *N.* That is not a lyke case: for the text is playn y^t the iewes wylfully resisted the worde of god, and wolde not receyue it. But these people are so desyrus, that they putte theymselves in no small ieopardye many tymes for the hauyng of it.

¶ *W.* I graunt there be some which of a good mynd are desirous to haue the gospell in theyr mother tōge, for y^e erudyciō & cōfort of theyr soules. But they that be suche good folk may be wel & sufficiently fed w^t y^e gospell punched⁴ & so wyll they rather chese⁵ to be, than to haue the scrypture ronne in euery rasshe bodyes hande, y^t wold abuse it to their owne harme and other mēnes to. For well ye wot many ther be, and as it appeareth in Almayn where they haue the scripture translated alreadye, the more part, and farre the greater multitude, are not lesse vnworthye in receyuinge it, then were the Iewes in the wylfull resistaunce of Christes gospell:

¹ S. Matt. vii. 6.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

³ Acts xiii. 46.

⁴ A misprint for "preached" (1531).

⁵ choose.

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whiche couet it onely for the libertie to be free from the exercyse of penaunce, and doyng of good workes, to rayle and iest of other mennes fawtes, wythout any correctiō of their owne synfull lyues, nothyng conformable to the vertue of the gospell, whereof to bable manye wordes they are not dombe.

Marke it there substauncially in cities and townes where ye se the people most ryfest & most busye to prate of the Gospell, whether they be or not, as gret vsurers, disceiuers of theyre neyboures, blasphemous swerers, euyll spekers, and geuen to all vyces as depely as euer they were.¹ This I am sure of and dare boldely affirme, that sythe the tyme of this new contentious lernyng, the drede of God is greatly quenched, and charitable compassion sore abated. Shall ye not se there a cock brayned courtier y^t hath no more fayth than a Turke, & less christen maners thā a Pagane, with lordelye coūtenaūce & knauyshe conditions, whiche takyng y^e name of god ī vayne, shall vnreuerently alledge the gospell with scoffyng and scornynge in reprehensyon of the clargye: where as hys owne lewd lyuyng is so vnthryfty, that ye can not aspy one good pyont in hym, except it be vpon his hosen,²

¹ At a later period Latimer complains bitterly of these vices as increased rather than diminished in England.

² "Their points being broken,—down fell their hose" (*K.*

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nor a nynche¹ of honesty besyde his apparayle nor scantly ther one neyther, beyng al to hacked and iagged, wyth dowble weapen redy to fyght, and syngle wyt, busy to brawle and chyde, more lyke a furious tormentour of Herode, than a pacyēt dysciple of Christ. Shal ye not also se there a marchaūt peraduētūre made a gentyll mā by promocion, ere euer that he had a good yemās condicyōs:² whych gettynge hys chefe substaunce as many do there by vsury, false dysceyte of trewe people, and other wrongfull wayes, wyll take vpon hym to preache the Gospell agaynste the auaryce of relygious persones, how they hauyng theyr bare necessary foode,³ ought to parte y^e resydue of theyr gooddes with pore people: where as he hym selfe hath thousandes lyenge by hym in store vnoccupied, and wyll nother help his poore neyghbour nor scarcely gyue a galy halpeny to a nedy creature in extreme necessityte: And at theyr belly festīg⁴ days, amonge such of theyr affynyte, which are

Henry IV., Part i., Act 2, Sc. 4). Did Shakspeare get this witticism from our author? I think he uses "honest apparel" somewhere: here it would mean good material, plain.

¹ an inch.

² yeoman's conditions.

³ "We must commiserate the daily fare of the convent of Westminster, when simnels . . . were an extraordinary treat." Maskell's Note in *Mon. Rit.*, iii., p 48, at end of "De Benedictione et Coronatione Regis."

⁴ feasting.

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not so wyse nor well lerned as they wolde be sene, yf it chaunce them to haue in companye some symple prieste, it is a wonder to here, how he is apposed,¹ & after that theyr spyrites be a lytell kyndled in glotony, howe they lasshe out the Gospell. Than begynneth one or a nother with his potycarye formalyte and holy daye granyte,² to moue some subtyle questyō sayng: mayster person howe say ye to suche a texte of Paul? And if the priest be ignoraunt for lacke of lernynge, or maketh not an answeere satysfyenge his mynde: he is mocked and iested vpon with scornefull derysyon. Then begyn they to canuasse the scrypture amonge them, wyth fyllynge the cuppes & ioly gentyl chere. And by y^e tyme they haue eatē more than ynoughe, and haue dronken to much: they be redy to wade forth in y^e depe mysteryes of scrypture, wyllynge to be teachers of thinges wherof they vnderstand not what thei speake nor what they affyrme. Then are they full armed to talke of abstynence, and sobre dyet of the apostles: their table beyng furnysshed with sumptuous dysshes, and exquisyte deyntytes. And where as their cupbordes be reallye garnysshed with costely plate, and the tables full of cuppes and peces of syluer and golde: than make they exclamacyōs agaīst the rych iewellys of churches,

¹ solicited with questions.

² Misprint for gravity.

as crosses and chalyses, saynge that better it were to make money of them and to be dystributed vnto pore people, than they shulde perysshe for lacke of socoure.¹ Lykewise when they be seruyd at theyr solempnityes, with counterfeyted curtesyes, in bowynge the kne, & valyng the bonette, hauynge sewers² and karuers³ after a moste stately maner of seruyce, wherein yf the offycers fayle neuer so lytell though it be but the settinge of a sawcer amysse they shall be rebukyd: yet theyr peuysh⁴ pacyence can not breake⁵ the honeste ceremonyes of the churche to be lawdably done, callynge theym folysshe fantasyes & inuencions of ydyotes. And though some of these new Gospellers occupie trewelie and iustly with their neighbours in face of the worlde, behauynge them selves charytably: yet are they very few in cōparyson of the other, whyche be raylers & gesters, vycyous lyuers & fals hypocrytes without any conscyence.

¶ *N.* As for hypocrytes I thynke ye myght fynde soner amonge relygyous persons.

¶ *W.* wyll ye beleue me. I have walked a great parte through oute all the prouynces of crystendome, and haue sene and marcked the

¹ Modern definition of charity: A thinks B very poor, therefore C ought to be mulcted to relieve him.

² waiters: " . . . marshall'd feast

Served up in hall with servers and seneschals

(*Milton, quoted in Johnson's Dict.*).

³ carvers. ⁴ peevish. ⁵ Misprint for "brooke" (1531).

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state of relygyous persons of dyuers orders: yet sawe I neuer amonge them suche coloured hypo-
crisy, so flesshely lybertye abused, vnder y^e pre-
tence of fayned holynes, as amonge many of
these late inuented faccyons. And I certyfye
you that ye maye fynde mo diuers sectes of
erronyous opynyons among them in one cytie
beyond y^e sea: than be sondrie orders of re-
ligious people in all Englande.

¶ *N.* Suppose ye y^e gossell to be in faute of
this?

¶ *W.* Naye, but the abuse of the people hauyng
it in theyr vulgare language: for whome it were
better to receyue it by the mynystracyon of
faythfull preachers, than vnworthely to take it
themselves. we haue in the Gospell y^t oure
sauyour Christ fedyng the nōber of .v. thousand
men besyde women and chyldren, fyrst gyuyng
thanks to his father, he blessed the breade, brake
it, & gaue it to hys dyscyples, and they dystry-
buted it to the company, and so they dyd eate
and were sacyate.¹

¶ *N.* Syr accordyng to thys y^e people shuld
holde them very well content, yf so be they had
faythfull prechers to mynyster the word of god
vnto thē. But I put cause² they haue none, or
elles that theyr peachers³ be suche as the prophete

¹ S. John vi. 11.

² This seems a misprint for "case."

³ *sic.*

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cōplayneth on, whiche preache y^e vysyō of theyr hart) & not of y^e mouth of god:¹ seking also theyr owne worldly proffyte, and not the gostly confort of theyr cures.

¶ *W.* I beleue y^t god hath not lefte his church destytute of faythfull preachers, wyth the whych he hath promysed to be continually present vnto the worldes ende.²

How be it the fewer that they be, the more fawte is to be imputed vnto the people, because they aske not worthely of god trewe preachers. For the gospell sheweth that the people came fyrst to Chryst, and he perceyuyng thē was moued wyth compassyon vppon theym, becawse they were as sheepe hauynge no hearde, and so feadynge theyr sowles spyrytually, afterwarde he dyd repaste theyre bodyes wyth corporall foode,³ wherfore yf they in lyke maner approche vnto Christe (in whose name what so euer is desyred of the father shall be graūted)⁴ he wyll also here graciously theyr petycyon: for the hande of god is not abreyuate now,⁵ nor his power other wyse mynysshed than it was at that tyme.

¶ *N.* yet am not I so satysfied wyth all the reasons y^t ye haue made, but I thynke styll that it were lawfull for laye people to haue the new

¹ Jerem. xxiii. 16.

² S. Matt. xxviii. 20.

³ S. Mark vi. 34.

⁴ S. John xvi. 23.

⁵ Isa. lix. i.

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testament in Englysshe: & perauenture wyth a lytell leyser I could lay suche scrypture for it, that scant ye shulde be able to obiecte any contraryccyon.

¶ W. ye shall haue leyser ynowgh. But in the meane tyme this ye must consyder, y^t our question is not whether it be lawfull to let them haue it: but whether it be vnlawfull to kepe them from it,¹ and whether of the twayn is more mete and more expedyent, specyally for the tyme that nowē is, the people beyng dysposed as they now be, and after suche ensample as we see before oure eyes, with suche fruyte as we fynde growē therof in Almayne all redy, and in many places euen here at home also. But if euer the tyme come, as I praye god it may, in whyche the people shall be so good and so godly dysposed than an englysshe byble should do good ī theyr handes: yet might Tyndals translacyon in no wyse be suffered.

¶ N. well I shall bethynke me tyll we mete agayne, and then wyll I be so bolde also to take Tyndals parte in defence of hys translacyon and other bokes which he hath put forth in englysshe, allegyng the best that I can for theyr allowance: to thentent I maye see what stronge reasons ye can brynge to confute them.

¹ A well-drawn distinction. The publication of the Bible in the vernacular, a matter of expediency, not of right.

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¶ W. Therwyth am I ryghte well pleased,
and I trust with goddes
help to answer you so effectuous-
sly, that ye shall not count
the tyme passed in vayne.

¶ N. Than fare ye
well tyll another
season. ¶ W.

Oure lorde
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